



IOHANNIS WYCLIF

TRACTATUS

DE BLASPHEMIA.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE VIENNA MS. 4514.

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

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LONDON.

PUBLISHED FOR THE WYCLIF SOCIETY BY TRUBNER & CO
37 AND 39 FLEET STREET

1893.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. The Manuscripts.

De Blasphemia is extant in no less than seven MSS., four belonging to the Vienna Hofbibliothek, one to Trinity College, Dublin, and the two others to public libraries in Prague. The Vienna and Dublin MSS. have been lettered as follows: Cod. Vind. 4514 (A); Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24 (B); Cod. Vind. 1343 (C); Cod. Vind. 3933 (D), and Cod. Vind. 3935 (E). As for the two Prague MSS., the Executive Committee of the Wyclif Society has not thought it necessary to collate them, on account of the very great delay and expense already incurred in the collation of the others, as the Reports of the Society have fully explained. The same reasons have obliged me to dispense with the help of MSS. D and E after the first two chapters, their readings (as will appear to any one who examines them with care) not seeming sufficiently important to warrant any further collation. B and C are evidently the best manuscripts; A, from which the copy was made, unfortunately proved to be the worst of all, and moreover the copy came into my hands in such a state as to necessitate a complete revision of the text. I shall only say that in collating the Trinity MS. I often had to recur to that manuscript in order to make out my text, and that the observations of Dr. Poole on the copying of the MS. (A) of his *De Dominio Divino* (Introduction, pp. XIV, XV) apply with such striking truth to parts of the transcript of *De Blasphemia*, that I should not wonder if the copyist was the same in both cases. Other parts, however, particularly towards the end, were very fairly written.

A few remarks about each of the MSS. will suffice.

A (Cod. Vind. 4514) is described at length in Mr. Pollard's *De Officio Regis*, Int. p. XXIX. Its untrustworthiness has obliged me very often indeed to adopt the readings of B and C. I need hardly say that the spelling, even when not pointed out in the foot-notes, is often at variance with the other MSS., but spelling is so well known to have been thought little of by scribes of the period that I have considered it superfluous to correct it.

B (Trinity College, Dublin, C. 1, 24), described as F in *De Apostasia*, Int. p. V., is a very good MS.; and I at first thought it better than C. Towards the end of the work, however, I came to think that C was at least as good.

C (Cod. Vind. 1343) is described in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. IV.

A full description of D (Cod. Vind. 3933) will be found in Dr. Buddensieg's *Wyclif's Polemical works*, Int. pp. XXXI, XXXII, and in *De Officio Regis* (Int. XXIX, XXX).

E (Cod. Vind. 3935) is described as B in *De Apostasia*, Int. IV, and more fully in Mr. Poole's *De Dominio Divino*, Int. XII, XIII.

The two Prague MSS. are also briefly described in *De Apostasia* as C (C. 73) and D (III, F. 11); the former belonging to the Domcapitelbibliothek, and the latter to the University Library. So far as I can see, the Committee was under the circumstances quite justified in deciding not to collate them, although C. 73 might possibly have turned out to be an independent source.

The MSS. C, D, E were partially collated, and A revised, by Dr. Goldmann with extreme care and conscientiousness; it was indeed owing to this very care that the Committee were enabled to judge that D and E might safely be set aside. My thanks are due to him, and also to Drs. Beer and Herzberg-Fränckel, who, throughout my stay in Vienna, rendered me every assistance in their power, with the greatest courtesy and friendliness. I collated B myself in the British Museum; and perhaps it will not be wholly superfluous to note here that I hardly ever took any notice of mere differences of spelling, of places of words when they did not alter the sense, nor even of such variants as *igitur* for *ergo*, *et* for *atque*, &c. I drew the line only at the smallest difference of sense.

Throughout my work I have been favoured with the active help of Mr. Matthew, whose assistance, on this occasion as with *De Apostasia*, has been invaluable to me, and I feel that I cannot thank him too heartily, nor indeed as heartily as he deserves. The encouragement and advice of Dr. Furnivall, who prevailed on me to go to Vienna, has also been of much use. I must not forget to thank Dr. Birk, the Head Librarian of the Vienna Hofbibliothek, for having kindly placed the MSS. at my disposal.

II. Authenticity and date of the work.

Nothing need be said of the authenticity of *De Blasphemia*; both external and internal evidence on this point are too strong to leave us the shadow of a doubt. As to the date, I was at first of opinion that it must belong to the latter part of the year 1383 or the beginning of 1384. It was certainly written after *De Apostasia*, which it several times quotes (see pp. 48, 202, 220, 224). Now, in my Introduction to *De Apostasia*, p. VI. I had come to the conclusion that the Crusade in Flanders was alluded to in one instance, which sufficed to fix its date as simultaneous with that of the expedition; and in *De Blasphemia*, pp. 156, 191, we find expressions that may be construed as referring to the Crusade. I was indeed astonished at the amount of work that Wyclif, according to this supposition, had found means to crowd into one year; but on the other hand, the words *Cruciatum languidum infinitum* seemed to me quite meaningless where they stood, unless I took *cruciatum* to be a mistake for *cruciatam*.

But this hypothesis encounters a difficulty that seems quite insuperable. It is well known that the Peasants' Rebellion, under Wat Tyler, and the violent death of Archbishop Sudbury, took place in June, 1381. Now, in *De Blasphemia*, Wyclif alludes to this popular disturbance as having occurred quite recently; and this allusion is contained, not in one single ambiguous line, but in a long digression, pleading for the rebels and excusing them as far as possible (p. 190—200). Besides, towards the end of the work (p. 267) he again returns to the same subject, using the very significant words, *hoc anno*. "If *this year*", he says, "the rich clergy had offered to pay taxes to the king for the poor, there would then have been no need to revolt."

It is barely possible and extremely improbable that this is merely an episode inserted into *De Blasphemia*, which may have been written at a later date. Not to mention the fact that it fits into the rest of the text quite as well as any of Wyclif's numerous digressions, there is another argument in favour of *De Blasphemia* being written in 1381. We have an allusion (pp. 89, 247) to a recent condemnation of Wyclif's theory of the Eucharist in Oxford. This condemnation is usually ascribed to the year 1382, May—November.¹ Now, Mr. Matthew² has proved — conclusively, in my opinion — that the date 1381, summer, usually given to the first appearance of Wyclif's doctrine on Transubstantiation, is in reality the date of his condemnation at Oxford. We have thus two separate indications, each pointing to the latter half of 1381 as the date of *De Blasphemia*.

But if we admit this date, *De Apostasia*, which was certainly written before it, must also be shifted backwards; and how then can I explain the words *cruciatum languidum infinitum*, and the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia*? I must reluctantly say that I was too hasty in taking three words as a sufficiently precise indication on which to found the date of *De Apostasia*. Whatever its date may be, it stands between *De Simonia* and *De Blasphemia*, as it quotes the former and is quoted in the latter work; it was also written probably before *De Eucharistia*, because, though its doctrines are substantially the same, and it deals with the Eucharistic question in fifteen of its seventeen chapters, no mention is made of that work. And in *De Apostasia* Wyclif still holds to the term of Transubstantiation, which he definitively rejects in *De Eucharistia* (*De Ap.* 210; *De Euch. Int.* IV). As to explaining the words *cruciatum* &c., I give it up. So far as I can see, they have no meaning. If Wyclif intends to say that the devil leads his adherents to the torments of Hell, they would in one sense be 'infinite'; but 'languid' is an epithet that seems most inappropriate to such pains. All I can do here is to suppose the text corrupt through some copyist's mistake or the interpolation into the text of a remark originally intended as a foot-note.

¹ See Mr. Pollard's list of dates, *Dialogus*, *Int.* XIII, XIV.
Historical Review, April, 1890.

² English

We have more difficulty in getting rid of the allusions to the Crusade in *De Blasphemia*.¹ It is indeed nowhere mentioned by name; but the allusions to it are quite transparent, if we consider that here was at the time no other movement — at once military and clerical — to which Wyclif's language could with any probability refer. These allusions seem therefore to have been made, if before the Crusade, only a short time before it; not two whole years, as the date of the work stands by the preceding considerations. We may suppose that Wyclif himself, after having finished his work, added a few remarks here and there in a later and (so to speak) revised edition; and possibly the *sicut ducit eos ad cruciatum* &c. of *De Apostasia*, may also be explained in the same way.

III. Contents of *De Blasphemia*.

One thing forcibly strikes the reader of *De Blasphemia*: the comparative violence of the language, when read after *De Apostasia*. Wyclif was evidently deeply wounded, and the reasons of this feeling are not difficult to discover; indeed his repeated allusions to the Oxford condemnation show clearly enough what they were. Yet he never, even when indignantly protesting against the injustice of the man who would burn him without hearing his defence (pp. 73—75), descends so far towards personalities as to name the man to whom he refers. And there is no advance in doctrine from *De Apostasia* and others of his later works. In fact, the concluding sentences of the book, — in which he declares himself ready, if need be, to retract his doctrine of the Eucharist (p. 287; see also p. 75), and merely says (p. 288) that as to confession, he thinks it necessary, but believes that Innocent III's decree was ill-considered, — seem to have been written with studied moderation, in view of a future citation at some tribunal or other.

The work, written immediately, or almost immediately after *De Apostasia*, has a much more defined plan than the former; though here, as everywhere else, Wyclif's digressive habits stick to him, and

¹ See pp. 156, 191, especially. We have even the word *crucient* on p. 156. Wyclif cannot allude to the suppression of the rebels by Spencer, Bishop of Norfolk; for in both these passages he distinctly points to a foreign land (*alienam ecclesiam* . . . *exteros*).

we may observe of him what was said of Montaigne, that 'he knows perfectly well what he says, but does not know what he is going to say'. Subjects that we consider as separate are connected in his mind: from the authority of the Pope to the existence of the Friars, and from each to Transubstantiation and endowments, the transition is easy and frequently made; and we often find that what is nominally a head of discussion, and marked as such in his plan, becomes, so to speak, a mere peg to hang a digression upon.

Wyclif, after a short definition of blasphemy, immediately attacks its *root* (i. e. the Roman Curia) and then its *branches*, comprising the whole under the collective title of the 'twelve daughters of the diabolical Leech', or twelve 'tormentors of the Church' (p. 54): the *Pope* (ch. I to V), the *Cardinals* (ch. V), the *Bishops* (ch. VI), the *Archdeacons* (ch. VII), the *officials*, to which is added a synopsis of Wyclif's views about confession (chs. VIII to XII); the rural *Deans*, *Rectors*, and *inferior Priests* (ch. XII); the *monks* (ch. XIII), the *Friars* (ch. XIV to XVII), the *door-keepers* or *clerks* (ch. XVII) and the *questors* (ch. XVIII).

Before proceeding to give an account of the contents of the work, I may say that I thought it would be interesting to confront Wyclif's doctrines with the acknowledged beliefs of the Church of Rome. Readers are frequently puzzled, when lighting upon some bold and startling theory, to decide whether the writer was bringing forward some new idea of his own, or merely laying stress upon some recognized doctrine of the Church. And for all such scholars as know the enormous influence exercised then as now by St. Thomas Aquinas, there is no need of my apologizing for having set face to face the 'Doctor Evangelicus' and the 'Angel of the School'.

Ch. I. Wyclif begins as usual with a short definition and division of blasphemy. It is committed, 1st, when we ascribe to God attributes that are not His; 2nd, when we deny His real attributes, and 3rd, when we ascribe His attributes to creatures. St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiae*, 2^a, 2^{ae}, qu. XIII, art. 1, *Ad 2^m*) gives this division almost in the same words, but does not name the authors from whom he takes it¹, and points out that the division is not a

¹ A quibusdam dicitur.

good one. — The relation between simony, apostasy, and blasphemy is then shown; as every mortal sin implies simony and apostasy, so it also implies blasphemy. As a corollary, Wyclif at once concludes that the root of blasphemy is in the Roman Curia, because a man most unlike Christ is said to be Christ's Vicar: discord between words and deeds is blasphemy, according to Augustine. A powerful invective follows against the worldliness, pride, secular pomp and effeminate luxury of the Roman Pontiff, whose life is in all points a contrast to the life of Christ. The ceremony of kissing the Pope's feet is inveighed against. Christ, even in the glory of His resurrection, did not *allow* Magdalen to kiss His feet; and the Pope *orders* his cardinals to kiss his! The counsel of humility, 'to take the lowest place', is utterly set at naught; but at the Day of Judgment he that acts thus will surely take the lowest place, Hell. Thus the Pope has no right to such homage as Vicar of Christ (p. 7—9); human traditions have nothing to do with holiness; it is not necessary to salvation to obey the Pope; and England, after the death of Urban VI, would do well to throw off his obedience, follow any one who would show himself by his works to be Christ's Vicar, and return to the purity of primitive Christianity. True, difficulties stand in the way; the opposite party is strong, endowments are a great temptation, and all these abuses are of very long standing: but it is flat heresy to oppose truth for such motives; the longer any abuse has existed, the greater the evil becomes.

Wyclif then brings forward three heads of an accusation of blasphemy against the Pope, calling the first *Hidden Power*. The Pope has no more right to give dispensations, absolve, and grant indulgences, than any other equally good priest. Dispensations in the matter of vows, if the vows were wisely made, are null and void; if otherwise, they are superfluous: a foolish vow ought not to be kept. Here we may say that St. Thomas (S. Th. 2^a 2^{ae}, qu. LXXXVIII, art. 12) has a very remarkable summary of the doctrine of his Church on this subject, which is not so far from Wyclif's opinion as might be thought. St. Thomas distinctly says (Ad 2^m) that a man who accepts a dispensation for a vow, without having at the least a reasonable doubt whether his vow was wisely made, is guilty of sin: this considerably limits the dispensing

power.¹ Vows besides, adds Wyclif, speaking of perpetual vows, often have the effect of hindering us in our duty and tying us down to a beaten track.

Three objections are next refuted in detail. The facts that there were sects under the Old Dispensation proves nothing in favour of sects under the New; Anselm, praising monastic life, spoke of men who really observed the perfection of Christ's law; and vows have, according to St. Thomas, the effect of rendering venial sins mortal (S. Th. 2^a 2^{ae}, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10). — This quotation of St. Thomas should however, be read in the original; he by no means admits that this effect is caused by the vows, nor does he even grant that sins committed through mere frailty become more grievous; those alone that are perpetrated 'ex contemptu' become worse. — Vows that we cannot keep ought not to be kept; for God cannot command what is impossible. Wyclif also shows that liberty is destroyed to a great extent by the rules of the sects; a point to which he returns in the last chapter (pp. 280 and seq.). And as, notwithstanding his Determinism, he is a strong upholder of individual free-will, this is a very important thing with him. It would here be irrelevant to show how his system reconciles free-will and Determinism (*Omnia que eveniunt, de necessitate eveniunt*); it would also take far too much space; but the working out of his system appears clearly in his philosophical works, of which I have had the occasion to copy some, and to collate others.

1st Wyclif then, implicitly granting that the Pope has power over the Orders, points out how that power could best be exercised: by giving a general dispensation of vows to all monks and friars. Such a dispensation, necessary for Christian liberty, would assimilate the secular to the regular clergy, while it need not absolutely interfere with the claustral life of such as prefer living thus. Should the Pope hesitate to grant this liberty. God will grant it (pp. 14—15). Authorities are quoted in favour of this view: Bernard and Anselm use words that identify the profession of Christianity with that of

¹ See also art. 10 and the whole of qu. LXXXVIII, in regard to Wyclif's position that the vows of Baptism are the most solemn of all, and render all others superfluous (p. 11).

monachism, and Lanfranc holds that we are quite justified in withdrawing from a monastery where our salvation is in danger. Such use of the Papal authority would be far better than commanding angels and regulating things of the next world, as Wyclif complains that 'Pope Clement' — perhaps Robert of Geneva — had done in a certain bull of his.

2nd The second head of accusation is *False Wisdom*, which is very briefly disposed of. If the Pope possesses the power of the keys, he must claim for himself supernatural wisdom in order to use them properly; but facts sufficiently disprove this assumption, and it must be made for all that.

3rd *Feigned benevolence*. Here the temporal power, constantly asserted by the Popes to be indispensable for the good government of the Church, and to be only claimed out of zeal and charity, is affirmed to proceed from quite contrary motives. If it were necessary, God would not allow it to be taken away; and the Pope's want of success shows that his temporal power, condemned by the life of Christ, is displeasing to God. We should rise up and refuse to obey him; but the perils of such a course render it more prudent to stand aside and await events. Wyclif darkly hints at a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence.

Ch. II. (pp. 18-41) deals for the most part with the Eucharistic question (pp. 31); it then returns to assail the authority of the Pope. After complaining of the exalting of traditions, the abasement of Christ's school, and the putting forward of evil doctrines under the appearance of good, Wyclif exemplifies the latter in the case of the Eucharist. It is idolatry to adore the visible Sacrament as God, for it certainly is not God. It is adored under pretext of devotion: idolaters may be very devout, but false devotion cannot please the God of truth. The more abject the sign worshipped, the greater the crime: now, the Host is, according to these men, nothing but a lot of empty appearances; it is therefore the most degrading of all idolatries. The people believe that the Host which they see is identical with Christ; and the Friars, wishing, as they say, to favour popular devotion, allow this error to prevail, though their own doctors:¹

¹ St. Thomas, for instance.

declare the contrary. Neither the sign of Christ's presence nor a mere accident can be identical with Him; and if the consecrated Hosts differ from each other in many things, how can they be all identical with Christ? It may be denied that the people is infected with such an error: but this is a question of fact, and easily answered. We cannot consider it as a sufficient reply to say that we believe what the Church believes, or that the dogma is not fundamental. Idolatry or faith? that is the question, and we may not say that it is of slight consequence. Others blaspheme, saying that the words of Scripture are obscure; but both the adversaries and the adherents of this system maintain that they are quite plain. Wyclif then, quoting from *De Eucharistia*, states his position: that the consecrated bread is Christ's Body figuratively, not naturally; sacramentally not substantially; metaphorically, not identically. — I have dwelt at length, in the Introduction to *De Apostasia*, upon the doctrinal meaning of Wyclif's Eucharistic theory: what he says about it in *De Blasphemia* brings us no new light, and there will therefore be no occasion to add here any remarks on the subject.

We should believe Scripture, he goes on to say, and care little for what either the Pope or the Sects may affirm on this matter. Pope Innocent's decrees¹ may be wrong; and, infallibility depending upon personal holiness, there is a strong case against that ambitious Pope. Yet we should, out of respect, explain the decree, understanding 'transubstantiation' to mean 'conversion.' The Friars, however, take it to mean annihilation of the substance of bread, so that nothing remains but the accidents; of what sort, they are unable to say. This is blindness. The accidents indeed remain in the act of our mind that contemplates them; but the activity of the subject is lost sight of, not destroyed.

The contrary hypothesis involves 1st *Much dissimulation*; for when Friars hear it said that we see Christ with the bodily eye, they find it convenient to remain silent; they cannot even refrain from subtilizing as concerns the essence of the sacrament of Baptism; lucre is the true motive of the dissembling of these teachers of lies, to whom no Christian ought to give aid. 2nd, *False miracles*; for in-

¹ *Firmiter* and *Cum Marthae*.

stance, the destruction of the bread, contrary to all the ancient Doctors of the Church,¹ and the presence of Christ's Body in the Host, with all its qualities, as in Heaven. 3rd *Great absurdities*. The Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's Body; or it is at the same time Christ and the most abject of entities. In the Host, all the parts of our Lord's Body are mixed up together in ridiculous confusion; according to those Doctors, the very impossibility of a thing is a reason for our believing it. The theory of the multiplication of Christ's Body in different Hosts would place Christ above and below Himself, &c. with infinite other absurd conclusions. The presence of Christ in the Host by no means involves the multiplication of His Body, for He is present figuratively, and a figurative Body can be present without multiplication in many places. This view of Christ's presence is preferable to any other, as it cuts short the idolatry into which the people are too apt to fall.

Wyclif then (p. 31) proceeds to attack the Pope's authority. Here is idolatry again; he is worshipped as Christ's Vicar; this is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood. Peter, Paul and Barnabas allowed no one to prostrate himself before them; if the Pope exacts such honours to be paid to himself personally, he is guilty of idolatry: of which we must purify the Church.

The first step towards such purification is to relieve her of the riches with which she is burdened; the influence of the priesthood is diminished rather than strengthened by them: the inequality of wealth that we see in the world is merely a punishment for sin. The upper classes require riches and power, to keep up their temporal authority; merchants may possess a moderate competence, but must not charge too dear, and are, on the authority of Chrysostom, advised not to trade to foreign ports for articles that they would only re-sell at a higher price. As for the clergy, it is absolutely necessary that they should be free from all superfluous wealth, and receive as alms

¹ Particularly to St. Thomas Aquinas. He denies, not that God can, but that He does, annihilate anything (S. Th. 1^a, qu. CIV. art. 4); and on this account he says that the bread, being changed into something better (Christ's Body), is not destroyed (3^a, qu. LXXV, art. 3); though indeed, as he admits that the substance of bread is neither in the Host nor anywhere else, it is hard to understand whether this is or is not more than a mere question of words.

the tithes given freely by the rich, while the poor offer up their prayers as spiritual tithes. For tithes are a duty that we owe to God, not a source of merit; if we wish to have merit, according to Augustine's doctrine, we must put the other nine-tenths of our possessions (setting aside what is indispensable for food and raiment) into God's treasury under the form of alms, never forgetting that nothing rightly belongs to any Christian, except in so far as it helps him to serve God. This rule is too often simoniacally set aside by the clergy, especially as regards the collation of benefices; and it thus happens that prelates to whom the spiritual power is wanting (precisely because they are proud of that power which God, withholding from them, may give to an unknown priest) are set over the people.

After this digression, Wyclif goes on to examine the arguments in favour of Papal power, especially as regards the Pope's claim to grant dispensations. He has no more right to the promises made to Peter than he has to be called the light of the world; the power to loose and to bind depends exclusively upon personal holiness. To dispense validly, we must dispense according to God's will: but that would require infallibility, to which the Pope cannot pretend. (It may here be remarked that Catholic theologians, even now, though they claim a certain amount of Divine assistance and guidance for the Pope in matters of Church discipline, do not by any means ascribe infallibility to him in that respect. But neither do they admit that infallibility is necessary in matters of discipline.) — Wyclif states that this dispensing power implies that whatever the Pope does is right, and that he will be saved. Yet all his power consists solely in the agreement of his sentence with God's. As it now stands, it is very weak indeed, as we see by the light of present events; the Pope, having no earthly power, cannot open or shut the gates of Heaven, and, unable even to set up a friendly prince in a country to which he lays claim, cannot possibly grant remission of sins and indulgences. Such great power, if he had it, should be first applied to himself. The chapter concludes with a warning both to laymen and to monks and friars, not to confide in the Pope nor uphold him.

Ch. III (pp. 41—51) is a short one. Three false principles, from which the root of blasphemy springs — 1st, that every Bishop of Rome is Christ's Vicar; 2nd, that he is infallible in matters of faith

and 3rd, that his laws are above the Gospel — are attacked. Wyclif argues against the first only, because, that destroyed, the other two must go at once. As a fact, many Popes have been apostates. Election neither gives, nor forces God to give the virtue requisite for the elect to become Christ's Vicar: even Christ's election had no such power in the case of Iscariot. Election aims, not (as it ought to do) at choosing one of the elect, but at giving a purely secular position to the man chosen. It is thus a source of great danger, leading men astray for the most part, and giving them to believe that the Pope is the elect of God. To elect a Vicar of Christ is tantamount to declaring that a certain man is predestinate; which, unless in the case of special revelation, is blasphemy.

These three principles destroyed by overthrowing the first of them, Wyclif proceeds to substitute in their place and to prove three contrary principles. 1st, No man is more likely to be Antichrist than the Roman Pontiff. Where there are more facilities for a man to set himself up in Christ's place, there is more likelihood that he will do so. Such is the case with the Pope. 2nd The Pope is to be believed only when his words agree with Holy Writ. His duty is not to make articles of faith, but to expound Scripture in all humility. 3rd To follow any man rather than the Gospel, is rank blasphemy.

From these principles flows a corollary. The different religious Orders, having their being only by Papal statutes not grounded on Scripture, ought to be put down. That there are good points in the present system proves nothing whatever in its favour. God's law is said to be the standard according to which the Orders act, but in reality they care for nothing but their own traditions. This is a dangerous practical error, for it is the source of all divisions in the Church, each man seeking his own. But the root of all the evil was the perpetuity of the Pope's approbation of these sects.

It may be objected that the Church needs a Head. — True, but not a visible one. Christ is the Head of the Church; yet it was expedient that even *His* visible presence should be taken away from us. As we see now, visible Heads occasion schisms in the Church. And we, as brethren, should avoid all dissensions. St. Jerome, quoted here, says that custom can change nothing in matters of faith; that a Bishop (or priest) may rank higher or lower according to his wealth,

but that all are equal; and that one of the Apostles was set over the others, in order to avoid schism.

All that is now changed; pride is the source of greatness in the Church, blasphemies are multiplied, indulgences are abusively granted, new laws are continually made. This, even if done by ignorance, does not excuse the doers; the origin of this evil — temporal possessions — must be taken away from the Church, and the clergy should feed their flock with the bread of Holy Writ.

Ch. IV (pp. 52—65) begins with a beautiful theory on the ultimate aim of man's being. He was placed in this world only to serve God and to yearn towards Heaven; to help him thereto, God has given him the example of the natural sky, with its sublime influences over our earth, of the Sacrament, in which terrestrial matter is lost sight of, and of Christ's Humanity, which is merged in the Godhead; all in order to foster within us the virtue of unworldliness. All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal, which is increased by the devil, whom Wyclif calls a leech. This diabolical leech has twelve daughters, ever crying Give, give: viz., Popes, cardinals, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, rectors, common priests, monks, friars, doorkeepers and questors; but our author notes expressly that he excepts from the number all such as lead a Christian life.

This division, coming rather late in the work, is nevertheless as good as any that Wyclif usually employs. We have already seen that most of what precedes, from the very beginning of the work, is aimed at the Pope, though of course with frequent digressions to one side and to another. The rest of this chapter may also be said to belong to the first of Wyclif's divisions: so that the first 'daughter of the leech' is dealt with, more or less directly, from p. 1. to p. 65.

How can we know that any man is a pseudo-pope? By his attachment to earthly things, which has increased ever since the disastrous endowment of the Church, accepted by Sylvester, against the spirit of the Fathers of the early Church: witness Augustine, who distinctly condemns the idea of a Bishop accepting money from a father to the disadvantage of his son. Now in almost every case of endowment, the giver has legal heirs, to whom the property ought to revert, and Augustine either condemned all endowments, or was inconsistent. These endowments besides weaken the secular power, so necessary

to the Church; they pervert the clergy, diminish charity amongst them, and cause dissensions and wars. All this is through the folly or the mistaken piety of some temporal lords who made these endowments. They are responsible for all those blasphemies about the 'patrimony of the Crucified', the authority to excommunicate, the assumption of holding all power from Christ, whereas the Pope, pretending to be 'like unto the most High', more nearly resembles Lucifer. Unworldliness in the Pope is absolutely indispensable; the King of Pride can otherwise never be conquered; the conflict is hard enough as it is. Christ's deeds are no less explicit than His words. He had not where to lay His head. Both reason and faith tell us that riches are good only in so far as they help us heavenward; which, if excessive, they cannot do. Let our luxurious prelates remember the Rechabites, and consider themselves as 'Anathema'; for, since they do not keep Christ's commandments, they do not love Him.

Sylvester's motive in accepting endowments was doubtless good; yet he sinned, for the results of his acts have been most disastrous to all Christendom. At present, if Christ were to appear unknown and to blame the life of Church dignitaries, he would be burned as a heretic or scoffed at as a madman: for Christ's followers are thus treated now for doing likewise. According to Christ, the last should be first, and the humblest the highest, not the proudest. And since Constantine's endowment has done so much harm, it is the duty of the secular prince to undo the harm done by a secular prince; he must refuse aid to bad priests, and humble the 'head of blasphemy'.

Ch. V (pp. 65—80) attacks the college of Cardinals as the second 'conjugatio' of the daughters of the leech. Their name, taken by syllables, is found to mean *CARior DIaboli NATus, LICium Semin*ator; taken by letters, it stands for *Custos Apostatarum Regni Diaboli, Iuvans Nequissimum Ad Legem Judicis Sopiendam*. A general condemnation is then passed upon them on account of their essential aim, which is to favour Papal pretensions. Their dignities are without Scripture warrant; Christ ordained none but priests and deacons; all other dignities encroach upon the honour due to secular powers, and spring from the love of vainglory. The college of Cardinals compares itself to the Apostles; if so, it is responsible for the present state of the Church, which is governed by the Cardinals.

Wyclif's doctrine, it is argued, would ruin all Church endowments. So it would. But there are in the world three kingdoms: that of Antichrist, that of secular princes, and Christ's Kingdom. The abolition of endowments would destroy the first, it is true, but would be favourable to the others (pp. 68—70). Again, it would do away with all hierarchical distinctions; but there would remain the inward distinctions of personal holiness. Excommunications would also cease, at least such as are pronounced for the sake of temporal gain, and are prefigured by the treachery of him that sold our Lord for money. Their frequency is in itself a good proof of the spirit in which they are pronounced, and their disproportion to the offence (for instance, those pronounced to avenge injuries inflicted on a Cardinal) is a crying scandal. The same may be said of many other practices that implicitly assert the Pope's universal dominion.

Here Wyclif deals with the question whether all prelates are heretics; a consequence that would seem to follow from his line of argument. Many are called heretics, who are not. Christ himself was called so. This is a point that God alone, not the Pope, can decide. But a certain prelate has imagined a new method of procedure as to heretical doctrines; the accused must answer simply *yes* or *no* to all questions without any explanations, and if *yes*, he is at once to be burnt as a heretic, and his bishop is to be deposed for tolerating him. — This sentiment clearly proceeds from some very fierce enemy of Wyclif, probably a Bishop who had formerly been a Friar. It is so flatly contrary to every notion of justice, that I suspect it to have been only one of those unguarded sentences that sometimes fall from the lips of orators, either in the pulpit or elsewhere. However this may be, it is inveighed against in a passage of great energy and eloquence. Judges may err; no law — except perhaps that of Mahomet — could ever tolerate such proceedings. The idea of deposing Bishops was no doubt first entertained by some apostate who wished to get their sees for himself. Then, addressing the unnamed author of the proposal, Wyclif exclaims: "O thou hypocrite! . . . in thine own diocese there are thousands of heretics; and how then canst thou dare to exhort a Bishop, under penalty of losing his see, to condemn a man for heresy in a

place¹ not under his jurisdiction and in a matter which thou, babbler as thou art! canst not even conceive? Most surely, I may retort, thou art an arch-heretic (*coronatus hereticus*) unless thou showest that he is a heretic whom thou thus blindly accusest." This, Wyclif goes on to explain, refers to his own views on the Eucharist, which he contends are far more orthodox than those of his opponent. Yet that man would burn him without suffering him to reply! And Bishops are to be deposed for suffering heretics; whereas Christ Himself suffered Judas, *and suffers this apostate too!*

Heretical prelates, he continues, ought indeed to be most severely punished, but not put to death by the Church; this would be contrary to Christ's spirit of love. Scripture commands us to avoid them; the sentence of excommunication would be the very fact of a life contrary to Christ's law; and no temporal succour should be given to perverse members of the clergy, except in cases of absolute want. Tithes ought not to be paid to bad priests, whatever the consequences of refusal may be: the case of dues to be paid to secular lords without enquiring into their lives, is by no means parallel. If secular lords compel the faithful to pay tithes, the clergy will come to consider them, not as alms, but as a right. The reason of all this backsliding is our forgetfulness of the example of Christ.

Ch. VI (pp. 80—94.) The Bishops form the third class of tormentors of the Church; they have much degenerated, and want to be again set in the right way by being discharged of the burden of riches. It is for the good of their souls; they cannot complain of being unjustly compelled to do what is right; according to Augustine, it is even a duty of charity to compel them. They cannot maintain that the intention of those who first made the endowments was to bring about the present state of things, or that the heirs have no longer any right over that which has been given away, since these very heirs still appoint to benefices in many a case; and therefore they still have a right to their possessions. Those that harm the clergy by endowments are severely punished by the evil effects result-

¹ *In a place*, etc. . . . in loco exempto. This bears special reference to the Bishop of Lincoln, and is a marked instance of Wyclif's strong University feeling. The Bishop was always claiming jurisdiction over the University, which the University disclaimed.

ing therefrom. Bishops now give curses instead of blessings, and thus beget sons of the devil; property becomes less, a general rebellion is impending, and all will be destroyed, unless God's providence intervenes to save us.

The fallacy of false piety, intending to honour Christ's disciples, is met by the fact that Christ upon earth refused all such honour. Friars excuse their high living by the good they do; such an excuse would be just as available for every possible excess. They justify their splendid churches by Solomon's temple; that argument would give every Bishop, like Solomon, a number of wives and concubines. To excuse such scandals is to be worse than Iscariot; he at least affected to think of the poor, when he reproached Magdalen: they do not. When that poverty to which Friars pretend, is said to be indispensable to the clergy, they cry, Heresy! and admitting that the same man may be a member of Christ and of Belial, they grant that Christ is the devil: an awful blasphemy. No 'foreknown' can possibly be a member of Christ, nor can one of the elect be a member of the devil, though either may be for a time in a state of grace or of sin. — There is a difficulty concerning this proposition (which is quite Catholic, if we understand the words 'member of Christ' in a peculiar way); for Wyclif, in one passage that I have not been able to identify, though I remember it quite distinctly, denies that a 'prescitus' can receive baptism; and as, according to the usual doctrine, baptism — either of water,¹ fire or blood — is an indispensable preliminary to being in a state of grace, I do not see how our author can consistently admit that 'prescitus potest esse in gratiam secundum presentem iusticiam.'

Apostates are compared to warm water that 'freezes more quickly than cold, because its pores are dilated', and Christian charity which alone can save the people, is likened to the ointment on Aaron's head (the clergy) which descended unto his beard (the temporal lords) and even to the hem of his garment (the common people). And let those who would hinder this union of charity lose all their property,

¹ In the *Triialogus* (IV. c. 12) however, Wyclif admits that a 'praescitus' can receive the baptism '*fluminis*' but not '*flaminis*'. This may answer my difficulty, but it brings others to the front.

especially the Friars. Let no man give them any temporal aid; if they pretend to be in absolute want, let them work.

Some Friars condemn what they do not understand, like the seven doctors at Oxford, who have condemned my doctrine of the Eucharist. Though they clearly know nothing whatever about *what* it is, they have proceeded to determine *how* Christ is present therein. The Gospels all say that the bread is Christ's body.

Wyclif again returns to the punishment that he wishes to be meted out to these conspirators against Christ's law: alms should be withheld from them. Each of the Orders hate the others, yet all of them join to withstand him who would reform the Church. They are like the Pharisees in Christ's time, and answer well to the different significations of the Hebrew word.

The Bishops (for Wyclif happens to return to them at the end of the chapter) should give the people an example of poverty, of spiritual chastity, and of obedience to Christ; but since endowments have rendered it impossible for them to do so, they have gone wrong. They commit injustice, trouble the State, blind the people, and are disobedient stewards.

I have given a very full summary of the first six chapters, wishing the reader to notice how prone Wyclif is to repeat his conclusions, his arguments, and often his own words as regards his great topics: the Pope, Church endowments, the Friars, and the Holy Sacrament. And as he is always digressing into one or the other of these subjects, a much briefer synopsis will suffice henceforward, except as regards his theory of confession (chs. VIII—XII), and the rebellion of the peasants (almost the whole of ch. XIII).

Ch. VII (p. 94—110) attacks the Archdeacons, their pride and luxury, the slight fines that they inflicted for sins in order to get more money, and especially the abuse of excommunication and absolution. Excommunication, whether active or passive, may be right or wrong according as both the sentence and the motive agree or do not agree with God's law; but excommunication with bell, book and candle is to be utterly condemned. There follows a rather fine-drawn parallel between this practice and the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The people ought to excommunicate wicked priests by holding aloof from them; yet, as we never can be quite sure that

a man is a castaway, it is lawful to communicate even with the worst of men for their good. At present the greatest abuses prevail: all excommunications may be raised or absolutions obtained for money: the latter are given to robbers through fear. It is a proof that neither is worth anything. Excommunication ought, (1st) always to arise from a feeling of charity toward the person excommunicated, (2nd) never to be pronounced chiefly on account of a temporal motive; (3rd) God's law should never be forsaken because of human excommunications: they are then harmless thunderbolts. The duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast, notwithstanding the intimidation practised on both clergy and laity. If our persecutors say that obedience is due to them, we affirm that it is due to Christ alone, and to such as follow Christ. We resist their excommunications, in spite of the unjust laws that favour them; and we shall appeal to the king, as we have the right to do. This right they themselves implicitly acknowledge by calling for the aid of the secular arm.

Ch. VIII nominally deals with the 'fifth tormentor', the official whose business it was to obtain money by means of penance; but in reality it says nothing about him, and is completely filled up with Wyclif's opinions on the sacrament of Penance. In order to understand fully in how far he agrees and in how far he is in contradiction with the Church of Rome, I must premise a few statements on the Roman Catholic doctrine concerning this subject.

The sacrament of *Penance* is necessary to salvation, but not absolutely, only hypothetically (S. Th. 3^a, qu. LXXXIV, art. 5). No mortal sin can be remitted without, and all are forgiven with Penance (qu. LXXXVI. art. 1, 2). Penance removes the eternal, but not necessarily the temporal punishment of sin (art. 4, 5). Sins once forgiven do not return, if the sinner falls again (qu. LXXXVIII, art. 1). Penance consists of *contrition*, *confession*, and *satisfaction* (qu. XC, art. 2). *Contrition* must extend to all sins (suppl. 3^{ae} Partis, qu. II, art. 3), is the greatest of all sorrows, and cannot be excessive in itself, only in its effects (qu. III, art. 1, 2); it may, if sufficiently intense, remove even all the temporal punishment due to sin (qu. V. art. 2). *Confession* is necessary to salvation 'vel actu . . . vel saltem voto, quando articulus necessitatis, non contemptus, sacramentum excludit'. — Thus, when it is possible to confess, confession must be made.

We shall see that Wyclif admits this; but then his theory of the necessary personal holiness of all priests whose absolutions are valid, interferes with the practical working of his theory; it is useless, even hurtful to confess to one who cannot give absolution. — All are obliged to confess once a year, even such as have only venial sins; not indeed ‘jure divino’, but jure ‘positivo’, according to Pope Innocent’s decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* (qu. VI, art. 3). But towards the end of the article (ad tertium dicendum) it is remarked that, according to some, the Decree is believed to have no bearing upon such as have committed no mortal sin during the whole year. — This, as we shall see, has direct relation to one of Wyclif’s many objections to the statute of Pope Innocent. — The Pope himself cannot grant a dispensation from the law of confession. He can only release from the obligation of the Canon, not from the Divine commandment; for it is ‘de jure divino’ (art. 6). Confession must be made to a priest (qu. VIII. art. 1), though in certain cases it may be made to a layman with advantage (art. 2). — Wyclif and St. Thomas both agree on this point, though for different reasons. The former seems (p. 148) to think that an ‘elect,’ though a layman, has the power to grant absolution; St. Thomas says that in such cases the confession is only ‘sacramentalis quodammodo,’ the priestly power failing. — Only the priest who has received jurisdiction from his superiors has the right to hear confessions (art. IV). And here we may add, by the way, that St. Thomas appears to be much stricter on this point than the present custom of the Roman Catholic Church would warrant. He even says (ad secundum) that it is not lawful to receive communion at the hands of any other but the appointed priest. Certainly a Catholic living in London might confess there in the evening, and communicate in Liverpool the next morning, without being blamed in any way. — Many considerations, and not only the grievousness of the sin, are to be taken into account in imposing penances (art. 7). Confession with contrition (or contrition with the desire and intention to confess) delivers from the death of sin, and partly from the penalties due to sin (qu. IX, art. 1, 2). The seal of confession may on no account whatever be broken (qu. XI, art. 1). The confessor may even swear that he knows nothing of the confession (ad tertium); for it has been made to him as standing in God’s place. This rule

holds, not only for the confessor, but also for all that may in any way happen to hear the confession; and *the Pope himself may not grant a dispensation to allow a priest to reveal a sin told in confession.* The penitent alone can allow this (art. 4). Priests have power, but not arbitrary power, to enjoin penances (qu. XVIII, art. 4). *Bad priests have the 'power of the keys',* so long as their jurisdiction remains; but *not even Saints have that power, unless they are priests* (qu. XIX. art. 4, 5.)

We may now return to the synopsis of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. VIII (p. 110—128) examines and attacks the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*; Chs. IX (p. 128—143) and X (143—156) determine to what extent oral confession is necessary, whilst Ch. XI solves several other problems, connected with the Sacrament of penance.

Starting from the definition of penance as *a sacrament by which sins are effaced from the heart and expiated*, contradicted by the assumption that, according to the decree of Innocent III. "all the faithful must, when arrived at the age of discretion, confess privately at least once a year to the appointed priest set over them, and endeavour to do the penance he enjoins them" (which implies that penance includes confession and absolution), Wyclif attacks this law. First of all, according to the Fathers, (Ambrose and Gregory, for instance) this confession is not penance; for their definition of penance does not include confession. Nor is it included, if we define Penance as "a virtue by which we deplore sin"; it is therefore a rite superadded to what is essential in the sacrament.

It is not reasonable to force the faithful to confess once a year [*proprio sacerdoti*], for a *proper* priest is too often not to be found; the obligation is either too loose or too strict, since it obliges to confession even those that have not sinned¹, and does not oblige even the greatest sinners to confess oftener; the law, besides, takes no account of exceptional cases, of deaf persons, wanderers, &c. There are also logical difficulties; for every instant a new year begins. And it is impossible to remember all the sins of a whole year; but, if they are not confessed in detail, how can a proper penance be assigned? Priests are now completely blinded, and unfit to be the confessors of a true Christian; they do not follow the law themselves. Besides

¹ See p. XXV, l. 9, 10.

their not being able to decide what penance ought to be given, it is certain that no amount of penance is sufficient in the sight of God. God's mercy either does or does not make up for insufficient penance; if it does, discernment in the priest is unnecessary; if it does not, we must find injustice everywhere, different priests enjoining different penances for the very same sin. It is useless here to fall back upon the notion of expiation in Purgatory, for an insufficient penance may result in sending the penitent to Hell; and even if not, the sufferings of Purgatory are the most severe of penalties. The very difficult science of enjoining proper penances is at present abandoned, and arbitrary penances are given; because, if the ancient canons were followed, no one would confess. Yet what was once possible is possible even now. The real motive of this conduct is worldly gain; these priests prefer to impose fines on their penitents, and, like bad doctors, ought to be hung. The law requiring the penitent to be *alone*, heretically implies that God can possibly not be present, that no confession is valid, if overheard; and it gives occasion to sins of lust. *Solus* besides can not apply to a woman.

Passing rapidly by the question of the seal of confession, to which he objects more at length in another part of the work, Wyclif points out the rigour of the law obliging every one to confess to the priest hierarchically appointed. Why should we have to ask leave to go to another, when we have good reasons for acting thus? And if the 'proper priest' alone can, according to the decree, grant the required permission, it follows that his Bishop has no right to do so, and therefore no jurisdiction. God gives the right to hear confessions at the same time as He gives the priesthood.

No formula of absolution is to be found in Scripture; all Christians can grant absolution. The priest, not knowing whether his penitent is contrite, is ignorant whether the absolution really takes place, or no; yet he utters the sacramental words — perhaps a falsehood. If the absolution is given provisionally, then the pardon is uncertain, and any other man could give it just as well. Augustine himself says that the absolution of a priest separated from the communion of the Church is not valid; this may possibly be true of the whole present hierarchy. According to Canon Law, if a Bishop has once ordained

a wicked priest, he no longer has the right¹ to ordain. And if the Bishop cannot ordain, then the priests he has consecrated are mere laymen.

Wyclif, summing up at the close of this chapter the principal motives for his opposition to the law — its injustice, its uselessness, and the spirit of greed that prompted it, — says in conclusion that it might perhaps be explained in agreement with his own views, but that he prefers to reject it simply and follow the law of Christ.

Ch. IX examines the necessity of confession to a priest. After refuting several false notions about the time of its institution, which, as a Church law, Wyclif identifies with the date of Innocent's decree, he rejects it as such on the ground of superfluity. On the other hand, he freely admits the necessity of confession in itself, as a law of our fallen human nature. Oral confession is a necessary means to be delivered from sin; every natural want supposes the means of satisfying it; and deliverance from sin is the greatest need of man. As one man ought to help another in his bodily wants, so he ought also to do for the wants of his soul. Thus confession is to be read of both in the times of the Old Law and of the New, though we nowhere hear of auricular confession. In the days of the early Church, however, confession, whether public or private, was *always free and unconstrained*. It is this point especially that rouses Wyclif's aversion to the law *Omnis utriusque sexus*. He indeed brings forward many objections that would seem to imply opposition to the practice of confession in itself; but in the light of subsequent and most unequivocal utterances, especially the declaration with which the whole work closes (p. 288), we cannot admit that there was any such opposition. He was certainly in favour of public, and also of auricular confession; but voluntary, not forced.

There are therefore three sorts of confession; one made to God with true repentance; this kind is absolutely necessary to salvation. Another is made to man; it is a law of nature, confirmed by Christ. The third sort is a mere human institution, rendered compulsory and exalted into an absolutely necessary instrument of salvation. Yet even

¹ The *right*, but not the *power*. Wyclif supposes that the power is taken away. It is unanimously admitted amongst Roman Catholic theologians, that even schismatical Bishops have the power to ordain.

this confession may be pleasing to God on the part of the priest, or of the penitent, or of both; and unless a parish priest is reasonably suspected of sin, his parishioners should confess to him as often as they need it.

Wyclif then, after a short digression about Innocent III., the Friars, and the Eucharist, answers three objections. 1st. It is lawful to compel men to do good. — Yes; but such compulsion falls only upon exterior acts, and the use of force is the duty of temporal, not spiritual masters. 2nd. Hugo of St. Victor, Bede, Augustine and Grosseteste all agree that confession is necessary to salvation. — Yet it is certainly not *absolutely* necessary, as many examples and Chrysostom's authority prove; that only belongs to contrition; human ordinances cannot be compared with Christ's law. We must avoid both extremes: no confession at all, and forced confession. What the above mentioned doctors say refers to the former error.

3rd. There is (Ch. X, p. 143) no strict definition of penance, as understood in the first or the second sense; all is vague. — This is denied, for the definition has been given already. What makes the difference between voluntary and obligatory confession is, that the latter is exacted in order to get money. Most priests only ask the penitent whether he has paid his tithes. Rather confess to the devil than to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics! Never should alms be in any case given to the confessor, even should excommunication ensue (p. 145). Let us abhor this tendency to submit to every command, whether right or wrong.

A long quotation from Grosseteste follows, in which he gives the characteristics of Penance: he speaks of confession, as Wyclif remarks, only if and when it is possible. If we are truly contrite, God will always absolve us; if we are not, even the Pope could not. Absolution should never be unconditional; it is blasphemy for a priest to take upon himself the sins of another man, especially for money. Augustine says that every aggravating circumstance — *who* has committed *what* sin, *where*, *how often*, *with how many* and *what* persons, *why*, *how*, and *when* — should all be examined, and such penance given as may serve to correct the fault; yet we must not suppose that any penance enjoined by the priest is a sufficient atonement for sins that have been committed.

As I remark in a foot-note on p. 152, Wyclif seems to confound two quite different aspects of the enjoined penance; and I think it is as well to point this out, as tending more clearly to show the Roman Catholic point of view, and by comparison, Wyclif's also. Contrition, confession and satisfaction are three essential parts of Penance, as a sacrament; and by 'satisfaction' the penance given by the priest in confession is meant here. Without the *intention* at the moment of absolution to fulfil that penance, the absolution itself is null and void; and to neglect, still more to omit wilfully that fulfilment, is a sin that must be told in the next confession. So much for the *forgiveness*. But it does not follow that there is no further penalty to pay, because a sin is forgiven. That might indeed be, if the contrition were sufficiently intense, but in most cases a temporal punishment remains to be undergone, even when the satisfaction. i. e. the *penance* has been accomplished. Now, so far as I have been able to understand the Roman Catholic creed, indulgences bear upon satisfaction only in the latter sense, not in the former. And if anyone were to say that the penance imposed by the priest does away completely with all liabilities incurred by sin, it would follow that indulgences would be quite useless, for the penance imposed by the priest is requisite to the validity of the sacrament, and can be dispensed with by no indulgence, but only in a subsequent confession. If therefore Wyclif understood it in this sense, he would be proving a thesis against which no one ever said anything. On the other hand the shortest prayer enjoined by the priest is considered sufficient to render the sacrament *valid*. I of course do not allude to sins of theft, for which the priest has no right to grant, nor the penitent to receive absolution, without a sincere promise of restitution. There are also other cases in which, if a penitent does not make certain promises to prove his good will, no absolution can be given.

Another digression follows, in which the Pope is severely blamed for his attachment to temporal power; Bishops who are greedy for money, punishing sinners by yearly fines, are branded as hirelings and wolves; and a beautiful passage from Ambrose is quoted, to the effect that, in order not to fear death, we must live unworldly lives. Temporal lords, who are indifferent to the real good of the Church, also share in Wyclif's general blame. Traditions are

here worthless; it is their duty to take all temporalities from the clergy.

Ch. XI (p. 157—171) debates 1st, Whether public penance is right. Many arguments are brought forward in its favour. It is grounded on better authority than private confession. If we confess the same sins to several priests privately (which is allowed) the sin becomes in a manner public; and several priests can absolve one sin at once, and therefore hear confession at the same time Wyclif evidently leans towards restoring the severity of ancient times. "But," says he, "no general rule can be laid down. We must consider what is most to the penitent's advantage." This decision may be contrary to ecclesiastical law, but not to the law of Christ. Many think that the Roman Pontiff should be obeyed in all things; whereas different churches may have different customs. Some men prefer to communicate on Easter Sunday; others, on Maundy Thursday. Augustine advises the faithful to communicate every week; Ambrose inveighs against Pharisaical observances in such matters. The Pope has no business to interfere, and should be disobeyed by way of protest, as he exceeds his power, even though he may command us to do what is not wrong. God leaves us (p. 162) our liberty in a great number of acts. Man has no right to encroach upon that liberty, or we return to the bondage of the Old Law. Many other absurdities and blasphemies also flow from this principle.

Wyclif now takes into consideration three objections. 1st. If this doctrine be true, no vows are right. — No, not when it is clear that God no longer approves of them. An action is forbidden by the vow, because forbidden by God for a time, not forever. An act, good in itself, cannot be made criminal by human law. 2nd and 3rd. No Christian can make laws, and the Pope has no power to grant dispensations, on this hypothesis. — Not at all. Laws may be made, and also dispensations granted, provided they are in agreement with Scripture and do not diminish Christian liberty.

The second question (p. 164—168) is whether the secret of confession should always be kept. Here Wyclif replies by a very decided negative. We find mention of public confession alone in the Bible. All sins will be known at the Last Day; why not now? To reveal the secret would injure auricular confession: a good result. A confessor, knowing of an intended crime, ought to reveal it. In

many cases it happens, as a fact, that confessions are revealed with impunity; as for instance, in sleep, &c. Many inconveniences may happen to priests who obey the law of secrecy. It is a sacrament of the devil. Confessors should, by the bye, leave public sinners, and not remain their friends after a fourth relapse. Wyclif concludes by summing up his doctrine on private confession, in which he admits the 'power of the keys', but not as coming from Rome, through the Bishops; it comes direct from Christ, to those who teach the doctrine of Predestination.

The chapter closes with the solution of several other less important problems. 1st. Can penance be done in a state of mortal sin? No; for every deed done in that state is a mortal sin. Yet good deeds are of service; they lessen the punishment even of the castaway. 2nd. It is of no use to repeat the same sins again and again in confession. 3rd. Is the penitent obliged to accomplish the penance prescribed? Wyclif here accumulates a number of difficulties which he considers as insoluble from a Nominalist point of view. A penance is a universal, and therefore is *nothing*. 4th. There certainly is a spiritual affinity between the confessor and his penitent. St. Thomas denies this quite as decidedly as Wyclif affirms it. If it were so, he says the son of a parish priest would not be allowed to marry any of the parishioners (Suppl. 5. Th., qu. LVI, art. 2, *Ad Octavum*.) 5th. The question whether former sins return when a relapse into sin takes place is thus solved: As a 'fore-known' is punished for all his sins, they must necessarily return, but since the time and the act of falling into sin are different, they are not absolutely the same sins as before. Roman Catholic theology holds, on the contrary, that if at any time a man duly repents of his sins, they are forever blotted out. (S. Th. 3^a, qu. LXXXVIII).

Ch. XII (172—188) attacks rural deans with much severity, and points out the duties of Rectors and inferior priests. They are, if perverse, the sixth, seventh, and eighth classes of 'tormentors.' The rural dean's special duty is to impose fines upon such of the people as have fallen into the sin of lust; themselves prone to such sins, they encourage harlots, in order that their revenue may not suffer, like incarnate fiends. Their weapons are citations and excommunications. But they can easily be resisted, especially if the guilty party resorts to his own priest. Their claim to inflict fines or to excommunicate, after absolution has been given, is preposterous; for the man

is innocent. If one of them can inflict a fine for a sin that exists no longer, why not a thousand others? Parish priests should take no notice of these wolves, except to defend their flocks. Especially should they refuse to publish excommunication against one who has already done penance. Such fines are neither alms nor atonement; they are unlawful, because arbitrary. They indeed, by taking the money, remove the occasion for lust, but they cause other evils. Why should the sinner pay fines to one worse than himself, and who deserves to be severely punished?

The duty of the spiritual pastor is then laid down. He ought especially to avoid sinning against his flock. If he leaves them, it must be as Christ left the angels in Heaven, caring for their welfare. He ought to appoint a good vicar in any case, and never exact anything superfluous. We may not demand anything as our due, unless we work for it. The bad clergy is, like the Pharisees, given to outward righteousness alone. No one (p. 182) should accept a benefice, except for purely spiritual motives. The curate would do well to go preaching about the country, or at least in his own parish. He should avoid absenting himself on pretence of study, and be quite free from public affairs. He has no right to anything but alms. Tithes were exacted as dues only by the wicked sons of Heli. They are due to the priest only by God's justice, not by legal right. The best way to deal with a bad priest is to cut off his income by having nothing to do with him. As for the inferior priests, though too often worldly and given to the lusts of the flesh, they seem less rooted in malice than the higher orders of the clergy.

Ch. XIII (p. 188—203) is nominally against the monks, but is in reality a plea for mercy, in favour of the rebels in the then recent insurrection, who, it is known, were headed by the priest John Straw,¹ whose exaggeration of Wyclif's doctrines are notorious. Wyclif of course blames the excesses of the people, and regrets the death of Archbishop Sudbury (*lamentabili conflictu*, p. 190); but he considers both the Archbishop and the other members of the clergy, who perished with him, as richly deserving their fate. In short, he takes

¹ Johannes Straw, qui fuit post Walterum Tylerum maximus inter illos. Walsingham II, c.

exactly the point of view of those who call the excesses of the French Revolution 'a sort of wild justice.' He points out the fact that the clergy possessed superfluous riches; but he does not admit that they ought to have been put to death on that account. Rather let them live, but be deprived of their temporalities. The clergy, who had prompted the late war, were responsible for the great numbers of soldiery in the country, whom they irritated rather than appeased (pp. 191, 192). What had the Archbishop to do with the Chancellorship, that most secular function of all? He was evidently a traitor¹ (p. 194). If the clergy does not reform, we shall yet see worse disasters (p. 195). It must, however, be admitted that the punishment inflicted was excessive: 1st. In *degree*, the people having no right to take away life. 2nd. In *quality*. There was no form of justice, only a mere outburst of popular indignation. 3rd. In *manner*; for they did not punish according to the fault; they rebelled against the secular powers, and they did not wait to take the advice of the whole kingdom (pp. 196, 197). On the other hand, we must not forget their grievances. Let neither the secular powers, nor Rome, nor the clergy, any longer rob the people.

Wyclif has not yet hinted at pardoning the rebels, but in the answers to the objections that follow (p. 198—203) he shows his purpose clearly. 1st. What Wyclif proposes would diminish the royal prerogative. — No, for on the contrary the patience of Christ (*paciencia maioris iniurie*) increased His prerogative. So will it be for our king too. 2nd. Clemency would stand in the way of just punishment. — No, for God will punish them as they deserve, if they are left to Him. Besides, let the possessions of the clergy make good the losses of the secular lords, and we shall have compensation enough. 3rd. All fear of consequences would be destroyed, should the guilty escape. — Better filial than servile fear, replies Wyclif. Their punishment will in any case, whether summary or judicial, be the cause of much hatred and disunion in the kingdom. The king and secular lords, and the clergy especially, have been much to blame in the matter (pp. 200, 201). We should follow Christ's example of mercy.

¹ See Walsingham's account of the rebellion and the death of the Archbishop, who was accused by the rebels almost in those very terms.

Chs. XIV to XVII (p. 201—272) contain a vehement attack upon the Friars, who are the tenth class of 'tormentors'. We may pass over these pages rapidly, as there is little new in them. Wyclif here, as in *De Apostasia* (p. 29—31), but at much greater length, complains of the 'Friar-makers', who went about recruiting members for their Orders. Their advice may well result in damnation. We may advise to do virtuous acts, but not acts that are indifferent; still less, dangerous acts, as in this case, unless by special revelation. If the state of a Friar is holy, all Friars are necessarily virtuous. It is quite the contrary, though the possibility of their salvation is not to be denied (p. 207). All that is said of the great graces given to Friars entering, living, and dying in the Order, is false; and the practice of putting on a Friar's habit at the hour of death, is a blasphemous superstition. They should, it is true, supply the want of good parish priests; but even were they as fervent as in the beginning, they are far too numerous, and burden the nation. They often take heirs under age from their legal guardians; an abuse that should be punished by law, or by seizing the person of a Friar as a hostage for the person kidnapped. They exhaust the resources of the kingdom, and are practically independent of the secular powers. Formerly poor and acceptable to God, they have degenerated; and now the results of the wrong they do are felt by every class in the State. They are probably traitors and spies in every country where they live. They obey no one. Their rule is blasphemous, and can be of no use to the Church but by being completely abolished.

It is said in their favour (ch. XV, p. 209) that they follow Christ closely, are of great use to the Church, and therefore deserve our respect. — It is true that they live poorly, but that is not sufficient to claim brotherhood with Christ. Robbers do the same. They will not touch money, but they love it. The three principal defects of their Orders are, 1st, that they live together without reason; 2nd, that their communities are extravagantly rich; and 3rd, that they are excessively burdened with traditions. Their Founders would not know them; they have nothing left of the Order but the habit. Christ and His Apostles, far from burdening the country, worked with their hands. — A digression follows (p. 224—226) concerning the Sacrament, containing nothing new except the form, in the assertion

that the 'Accident-theory' is a heresy that blasphemes the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Christ's words against false prophets, who come in sheep's clothing, &c. are quoted and applied. The endowed monks, of whom but little was said in the proper place, are here blamed for their luxurious lives (p. 228). On p. 229, Wyclif replies to a question that many of his followers must have put to him. Since every good deed may be hypocritically imitated, how can we know that any deed is really, i. e. morally, good? for it has often been denied that the good done by monks and friars is any proof in their favour. Wyclif in reply draws a distinction between a judgment that is only probable and one that is certain. Every good deed *certainly* proceeds from a cause physically good, and may with probability be judged to be morally good, if no evil accompanies it. We should consider the whole tendency of a sequence of acts, and not judge private persons as we judge a whole Sect, nor set consent in the same category as deed. And under these restrictions, we may affirm that the whole clergy, the Friars especially, are corrupt; the latter being especially condemnable, because they flatter the Roman Curia, and often become Popes or Cardinals themselves. But they can truly exalt the Roman Curia only by obeying its laws, as embodied in the Decretals.

A long extract from a sermon of Fitz-Ralph closes the chapter (p. 232—238). Eight heads of accusation were brought by this Bishop against the Friars. 1st Against their rule, they beg when they have work to do and can do it. 2nd They do not follow their rule literally, as St. Francis commands, but evade it by glosses. 3rd They preach against the will of the Bishop to whom the diocese belongs. 4th They ought not to touch money, but they have a man who goes with them and collects it. 5th They preach without being duly examined, and the Friar who gets most money is sent to preach the oftenest. 6th Against their rule, they enter monasteries and private houses. 7th They do not observe Holy Poverty, but accept any quantity of small sums from poor people. 8th They wear costly habits, interfere in secular affairs, and disobey Papal laws, particularly as concerns the burial of seculars in their grave-yards; whence it is likely that they lie under an interdict.

Ch. XVI (p. 239—255) continues to attack the Friars. The Pope ought to abolish their Orders, which he can very easily do, by

means of a general dispensation from their vows. Wyclif avails himself of the objection that the destruction of the Friars would put an end to scholastic degrees in the University, to inveigh against the *Fratres pilliati*, or graduates among the Friars, who, as it appears, enjoyed certain privileges very likely to excite the envy of such of their brethren as were less intelligent or (according to Wyclif, p. 244. ll. 31—37) less fortunate than they: such as, for instance, exemption from preaching, from the Choir, and from all acts of obedience (*omne quod sonat in obedienciam*). So that, while they praise obedience, they make it the greatest reward not to have to obey! This is unscriptural in every way, as is also the fashion after which their General domineers over them (p. 246). An abrupt transition brings us again to the Eucharistic controversy, and Wyclif's condemnation in Oxford, and the 'Catholic Doctor' who spoke in Wyclif's favour, whom (in *De Apostasia, Introduction*) I have supposed to be Wyclif himself, though I am not quite sure of that now. It seems, however, that this hypothesis cannot be reasonably doubted. He more than once speaks of himself in the third person¹, and the arguments of the 'Catholic Doctor' melt into the text in such a manner that it is hard to see where they end and where Wyclif takes up the argument for his own part. There is no need to give the details of these arguments; the most striking of them have already been dealt with in *De Apostasia*. Wyclif concludes that the Oxford condemnation was a temptation of Satan, occasioned by ignorance of the interpretation of Scripture. (p. 250). The rest of the chapter contains nothing new.

Ch. XVII (p. 255—272) assails the door-keeper, and by door-keepers Wyclif means all those of the clergy who were not in Holy Orders. Two points especially are to be noted in this chapter: Wyclif's theory of Sacramentals (p. 257) and his protest against the employment of the clergy in secular affairs — It is complained that the doorkeepers mix too much common water with the holy water that they distribute. Wyclif decidedly admits that a true Christian and a good priest have the power given by Christ to His disciples to cast out devils (as is done previously to the blessing of the water).

¹ Et sic dicit quidam debilis et claudus citatus ad hanc curiam . . . De Citationibus frivolis c. 4. Buddensieg. W's Pol. Works, p. 556.

But as 'foreknown' priests have not that power, we must suspect that the water is not holy, if they do not follow Christ's law. A priest who sometimes does wrong abuses his power; if he continually does wrong, he cannot abuse it, for he has none. We should treat holy water with all due reverence (p. 259) yet without excess, avoiding exaggeration on both sides. As for consecrated oil, its adulteration is a very serious matter, since the oil is consecrated by the Bishop, made of costly ingredients, and used in Confirmation and Baptism: its impurity would interfere with the integrity of those sacraments.

Wyclif proceeds to point out the abuses concerning clerks (p. 261—272). Some of them do not really, but only nominally, belong to the clergy. But for such as do, the practice of employing them in secular charges, is without excuse, condemned by Canon law, and a dishonour to the Church. It is said to favour the prosperity of the realm; but it is contrary to Christ's law; and if the Canons forbidding it have fallen into disuse, that cannot be said of the law of Christ. And a man willing to be a traitor to God, the King of kings, may as well be a traitor to man also. It is impossible to serve both Christ and the king properly. Christ's service has to be abandoned. At least let them give up their benefices. This is argued to be impossible, for the King can only afford to pay them by means of those benefices. Here again is an argument against the temporal possessions of the clergy; an argument which the present wretched condition of the poor tends to strengthen. It is incomprehensible how secular lords can rob the poor as they do, seeing that the lands of the clergy belong to them by right, and would yield ever so much more than what the poor can give; and they would thus regenerate the clergy, now so corrupt, so neglectful of the people, so hated, and so unable to resist. Parliament should pass a bill to that effect; tallages should also be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed. As matters stand, secular lords are forced by circumstances to plunder their tenants, and thus indirectly to ruin themselves; and their own enemies move them to persecute the faithful as heretics. The chapter closes with a petition in seven points to the King and Parliament, summing up pretty nearly the whole of Wyclif's doctrine.

Ch. XVIII. After a few pages (272—276) devoted to the exposure of the misdeeds of questors 'the twelfth sort of tormentors',

men who went about the kingdom, it appears, collecting money, and dispensing indulgences from Rome, whom our author accuses of drawing more than £100,000 annually out of the kingdom (p. 274) the epilogue begins on page 276. His opinions concerning the perfection of the religious state are, he says, attacked; but he defends them by quoting Grosseteste. All private religions, like civil government, savour of sin. It is hard to be saved in them. Why prefer the foolish remedies of men to those given us by Christ (p. 279)? In Christ's law no ceremonial observances are perpetual. It is that which constitutes the difference between it and the rules of Sects (p. 280), Church endowments, &c. We deny that any hard and fast lines ought to be laid down; they often have absurd results. Christian liberty should be maintained. It is impossible to bind oneself down perpetually to do acts that may at times be lawful and at times not.

Wyclif's doctrine of temporalities is, he says, denounced; yet it is necessarily true. His opponents have no right to bring the actions of Saints as precedents, until they do the works that those Saints did. The whole world feels the abuse of Church property, and the king should redress this abuse. The parable of the unjust steward should be explained in this sense, and the miracle of the loaves and fishes (when Christ gave the bread to the Apostles to distribute) does not contradict this explanation. It is a sin for any of the clergy to trouble himself about the future, for which God will provide; more especially is it a sin for those Orders that are strictly vowed to poverty.

Finally Wyclif says he is accused as a heretic, not really on account of his opinions in the Eucharistic controversy, but because of his adversaries' rage about the two other points. He is, however, ready to retract any error he may have made, if shown that is an error. The contradictions of the different Sects are then briefly touched upon, and Wyclif's opinion stated once more. The Eucharist is Christ's body, "non substantialiter, sed supernaturaliter". As for Confession, I have already noticed his declaration that it is necessary, but not absolutely so, and his protest against the compulsory nature of Pope Innocent's statute, which was not founded on the Gospel.

In conclusion, he says, referring to the three books *De Simonia*, *De Apostasia*, and *De Blasphemia*, that, should he have erred in

those works, he humbly asks God's forgiveness, and submits to the correction and teaching of any creature whom it may please Him to appoint for that purpose.

Such is the close of Wyclif's last great work. In it he appears, as in most of the other short tracts written during the latest period of his life, unflinchingly attached to the principles expounded by him before his condemnation at Oxford, and inspired, if possible, with still greater vehemence in his denunciations than before that date, and still more unsparing in his exposure of all that was, or that he considered to be, an abuse.

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CAPITULUM PRIMUM.

29^a | Restat succincte de blasfemia pertractandum. Est autem blasfemia *insipiens detraccio honoris domini*. Et dicitur a *blas* (quod est insipiens) et *femina*, que quasi rane *blaterant*, communiter nimis stulte.

Blasphemy may be defined as a 'foolish' deduction from God's honour'.

Committitur autem blasfemia tribus modis. *Primo* modo, quando deo attribuitur quod sibi non convenit; ut ponendo quod deus nimis severe puniat, vel quod sit iniquitas apud deum. *Secundo* modo, cum removetur a deo quod sibi convenit; ut legitur de Rapsace 4^{to} Reg. 18 et 19. Et *tercio* modo, quando pure creature attribuitur quod deo proprium est. Et ad istum sensum Judei sepe inposuerunt Cristo blasfemiam, ut patet Matth. 9, 16 et Joh. 10. Et isto modo Herodes, Act. 12 legitur blasfemasse; et principes populi sunt proni incidere in istam blasfemiam.

4. Reg. XVIII, 17—37
XIX, 4—8
Matth. IX, 3
XXVI, 65
Joan. X, 36
Act. XII, 23

Et patet scrutanti intime quod, sicut simonia et apostasia consequuntur ad quodcunque mortale, sic et blasfemia, que convertibilis est cum illis. Nam, eo ipso quo quis peccat mortaliter, vult vitam istam esse bonam, et per consequens non reprobam, sed approbatam a deo: quod est manifesta blasfemia. Vult enim implicate attribuire deo auctorisationem peccati, quod propter

and is of three kinds:

1. when we ascribe unjust attributes to God;

2. when, like Rabshakeh, we deny his real attributes;

3. when we ascribe God's peculiar properties to His creatures, as was done in Herod's case.

Rulers are much exposed to this sin.

Simony and apostasy imply blasphemy under each of the foregoing heads;

1. inasmuch as the man who sins mortally wishes God to authorize his evil act;

1. Incipit liber de blasfemia duodecimus in ordine C. Explicit de officio pastoralis incipit eiusdem de blasfemia. Capitulum primum D. 2. succinte C. 4. femia AB. 5. rana latrat A; *ib.* blaterant E. 6. tribus modis blasf. CDE. 7. attribuitur D; *corr.* E. 9. apud D; *ib.* modo *deest* BCDE. 10. Rapsace C. 11. Rēg^o (= *quarti regum*) A; quarti DE. 12. attribuitur D; *corr.* E; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 11. et *deest* ABDE; *ib.* Herodes *deest* A. 17. symonia CDE. 18. consequuntur C; *ib.* quodlibet C. 20. peccator blasfemat *in marg.* C; *ib.* vult CDE; *ib.* illam ACDE. 21—23. et per consequens non reprobationem, sed approbationem a deo, quod est manifesta blasfemia vult enim implicate deo attribuire auctorisationem peccati A. 22. vult CDE. 23. deo attrib. CDE; *ib.* auctorisationem D.

3. I should have preferred the other reading, but the context renders that inadmissible. Wyclif's works contain other etymologies that betray ignorance of Greek. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, l. 21. 17. See *De Apostasia*, p. 1, opening paragraph.

2. because, hoping for impunity, he derogates from God's justice, which must fall on every sinner;
3. because his acts implicitly make his own will a supreme law.

We may argue thus for every mortal sin.

St. Augustine supports this view.

He says: Let our acts praise God as well as our voices;

it is of no use to praise God with the tongue if you blaspheme Him by an intemperate life. In this sense St. Paul calls himself a blasphemous.

Many think the root of this blasphemy to be in the Roman Curia, because Antichrist says he is Christ's vicar,

bonitatem non potest deo competere Vult etiam implicite a deo auferre iusticiam debite puniendi, que repugnat patri et filio. Et tercio, vult implicite dare homini voluntatem supremam, non subiectam, vel regulandam voluntati superiori: quod deo est proprium. Et idem 5 deducitur multipliciter in quocunque mortali peccato quod homo potest inordinate velle aliquod positivum, quo iustificato cum modo volendi, sequitur talis absurditas. Iste autem est modus loquendi famosus sanctorum; et tunc patet dicta sententia.

Et per hec intelligi potest Augustinus super illo psalmo 146 "*Laudate dominum, quoniam bonus est psalmus*". "Qui", inquit, "psallit, non sola mente psallit; sed, assumpto etiam quodam organo quod vocatur psalterium, accedentibus manibus voci concordat. Vis 15 ergo psallere? non solum vox tua sonet laudes dei, sed opera concordent cum voce tua. Cum igitur voce tua cantaveris, silebis aliquando. Vita sic canta, ut nunquam sileas; vita tua semper laudet. Negocium agis, et fraudem cogitas? De bono opere tuo laudas deum, et cum 20 blasphematur deus de malo opere tuo, opere tuo blasfemas deum." Et sequitur: "Si vero modum vescendi immoderatione voracitatis excedis, et vinolencia te ingurgites, quantaslibet laudes dei lingua sonet, vita blasfemat." Et isto modo loquitur Apostolus Thym. 1^o vocans 25 B. se ipsum "*blasfemum*", quia erravit a lege domini. Et 1 Tim. 1, 13 utinam nostri prepositi non plus errent!

Videtur autem multis ex fide scripture et facto hominum, quod in Curia romana sit radix huius blasfemie, quia homo peccati anticristus insignis loquitur quod sit 30 summus Cristi vicarius, in vita et opere inter mortales sibi simillimus. Et cum, secundum Augustinum, omnis

1. competere CE; *ib.* vlt CD. 2. auferre a Deo DE. 3. vlt CD; *ib.* homini implicite dare C; implicite homini dare DE. 4. regulam C. 5. voluntate E; *ib.* deo deest C. 6. petito (*in marg.* corr.) A; petito C; peccato *corr. in marg.* petito D; peccato cui superscriptum est petito E. 7. quia pro quod E; *ib.* 2^o pro aliquod E. 8. autem deest ABDE; *ib.* est et C. 9. potest intelligi C; *ib.* Augustinus *in marg.* A. 10. laudare *in marg.* C; *ib.* est deest A. 11. assumpto D. 12. opera tua CDE; *ib.* tua deest A. 13. alii pro aliquando A. 14. opere tuo *in marg.* B; deest A; opere tuo linea rubra delet. E. 15. blasfemare deum opere *in marg.* C. 16. lingua tua CDE. 17. Thy A; 1. Thimo. 1. C; prima Thimoti primo DE. 18. in pro a B. 19. errant B. 20. radix blasfemie Roma *in marg.* C. 21. in signis linea divisum E. 22. simillimus D.

12. St. Aug. *Enarratio in Ps.* CXLVI (Migne, t. XXXVII, p. 1899).

talis ex psalmi discordia blasfemat cum in vita, sequitur
 quod et omnis talis sit radix blasfemie; imponit enim
 deo expresse vitam sibi persimilem, quod a deo tolleret
 omnem laudabilem dignitatem. Implicat eciam totum
 5 evangelium esse falsum; ipsum enim affirmat Cristum
 vixisse vitam pauperem, mundo odibilem, quia laboriosam
 et humilem, cunctis suis fratribus ministrando, ut hic
 supponitur. Hic autem vivit omnino contrarie, et ad
 hoc promovet omnino suos discipulos; ita quod de
 10 cristianismo, seducto per tales aspirantes ad seculare
 dominium (quod Cristus in se renuit et interdixit suis
 discipulis), intelligi potest illud Ysa. 3^o: *Effeminati do-*
 Math. III, 4 *minabuntur eis.* Mos enim feminarum est, quo ad opera
 virilia ociari, in lautis esibilibus et stramentis mollibus
 15 delectari, et post ista ac ornamenta splendida ex excel-
 lencia sui nominis blaterare. Sic effeminantur anticristus
 cum suis satrapis. Nam tamquam alter costree residet
 20^b in suo sumptuoso | pallacio, cuius sumptus non solum
 male sunt tyrannice capti, sed pessime, quia blasfeme
 20 de bonis pauperum summa yppocrisi spoliata. De lau-
 ticiis vero, de pulvinaribus et eorum lectisterniis, clamat
 mundus. Et non solum carte plumbate sed codices
 testantur eius excellenciam blasfemam, post ornatum
 stultissimum ac monstruosissimum; primo cameraliter
 25 (more femine) cum suis complicitibus intimatam, et post
 late per mundum publice proclamatam. Sic quod, ubi
 Cristus non habens ubi caput suum reclinet, visitavit
 pedestris humiliter civitates et patrias quas sanando in-
 struxit, Anticristus trahit ad ociantes pedes sue superbie
 totum mundum, quem non reficit, sed inficit; non sanat,
 sed contaminat; non instruit in lege domini, sed seducit
 in scola blasfemie anticristi.

and, as
 Augustine says,
 discord between
 words and
 deeds is
 blasphemy.

Such a one robs
 God of his true
 honour, and by
 implication
 makes the whole
 Gospel false.

It affirms Christ
 to have lived in
 poverty and
 unworldliness;
 but Antichrist
 lives an entirely
 different life.

So much is
 Christianity
 depraved by
 those aspiring to
 secular rule,
 which Christ
 Himself
 refused and
 forbade it to
 His disciples,
 that Isaiah's
 words are now
 fulfilled

concerning the
 effeminacy of
 our rulers:
 Who, like
 women, delight
 in luxury and
 pride;

the world
 proclaims, and
 we have written
 evidence of
 their luxurious
 feasts and their
 feminine love
 of show both in
 private and in
 public.

All this is the
 very antithesis
 of Christ's
 teaching.

2. et deest CDE; *ib.* inponit ACDE. 3. per similitudinem A.

4. implicat evangelium esse falsum *in marg.* C; implicat DE. 5. Cristum affirmat C.

8. anticristus *pro* autem A. 11. qñ *pro* quod C.

12. Ysa. 3^o A; Ys. 3 C. 12, 13. effeminati qui dicuntur dominari *in*

marg. C. 13. *after* eis *in marg.* nota; morem feminarum B; mos femi-

narum in papa est factus *in marg.* C. 14. stramentis A. 15. hac A.

15, 16. extollencia C; *ib.* suis D; *ib.* blacterari A; laterare C; blaterare DE.

17. *Between* suis and satrapis, a blank space A; *ib.* aliter D; *ib.* cosdive B; cosdras E. 19. tyrannice DE; *ib.* blasfemie B. 21. pulvinariis DE.

22. Et deest DE. 23. eius blasfemium A. 24. cameraliter *in marg.* D.

26. gnūd) *pro* mundum A. 27. Cristo contrarius antipapa *in marg.* C; *ib.* ubi deest C. 28. pedes (= *per* edes) C; pedes ADE.

17. *Costree, cosdive, cosdras.* Probably Cosroes, known in Church History as a persecutor. See *De Christo et Antichristo*, Buddensieg, Polemical Works of Wyclif, p. 683, l. 20.

Every morning
the cardinals
must go to him
with a
numerous and
splendid train
of horsemen;

and strangers
are ordered to
beg for leave to
kiss his feet;

which, called
blessed, are not
so, because of
his worldliness.

Christ, after His
resurrection,
forbade Mary
to kiss His feet;
Antichrist
exacts this.

Yet Christ's
feet and His
followers' are
blessed and
immortal; not
so those of the
members of the
Devil.

Before His
resurrection,
Christ *allowed*
Himself to be
touched, that
sins might be
effaced or
diseases cured.

But the pope
has not this
motive.

Christ's
forbidding
Magdalen to
kiss His feet,
whilst allowing

Unde cardinales, proximi complices huius hominis,
docentur valde mane accedere ad suam presenciam,
cum numerosa sumptuosa et monstruosa familia equitatus,
non propter loci distanciam vel difficultatem itineris,
sed ad ostendendum magnificenciam suam mundo et 5
contrarietatem sui ad Cristum cum suis Apostolis. Exteris C.
vero visitantibus hunc patrem iniungitur quod, ipso
sedente in altum, in ornatu splendido, eciam usque ad
pedes cum genuflexione petant humiliter pedum oscula
beatorum. Quod si per "pedes" in scriptura significatur 10
affeccio mundane glorie, ac non beata sed reprobata sit
affeccio mundane glorie ac eius factorum, nichil falsius
quam talem hominem esse beatum; et per consequens
beatitudo sua non ebullit ad pedem vel ad talum. Cristus
enim mandavit Magdalene volenti post resurrectionem 15
osculari, ut assolet, pedes suos: *Noli, inquit, me tangere,*
nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum. Et anticristus blas-
feme exigit nedum pedum oscula, sed declamacionem blas-
femam quod organa eius abiectissima sint beata. Cristus
enim noluit feminam osculari pedes suos post resurrec- 20
cionem, inmortales indubie et beatos, ut tollat presump-
cionem blasphemam a ministris false fingentibus se esse
Cristi vicarios. Pedes autem cum Cristo ascendencium
ad gloriam sunt beati, et non esca vermium, membrum
putridum et fetens sudor affectionum membri diaboli. 25

Perante autem Cristus pertulit sed non presumpsit
pedes suos cum lacrimis osculari a femina, ut patet
Luce 7^o; quia devota contricio et parcium Cristi cor-
poralis taccio delent crimina viatoris. Ideo ante mortem
viando propter faciendam multiplicem sanitatem voluit 30
tangi a feminis, ut patet Luc. septimo et octavo. Sed
cum deflucit ista causa in papa, non subest ratio quare
sic extollitur super Cristum. Sed Augustinus, super se-
cundo capitulo Joh. omelia 121^a notat quod Cristus post
resurrectionem voluit tangi a feminis; cum Matth. 28 35

1. huius mundi hominis D.
2. attendere B.
3. cum *deest* A;
- ib.* numerosa A: nimosa CD; *ib.* equitus C.
9. genu flexio A.
10. Anticristi condicio in pedibus beatis per contrarium *in marg. sup.* C.
11. mundane glorie A.
12. fictorum A; stercoreum CDE.
14. ebullit
- 14, 15. Cristus prohibet pedes osculari magdalene *in marg.* A.
- 18, 19. blasphemiam *corr.* A.
22. miseris *pro* ministris ADE.
24. in
- pro* ad C.
25. diaboli DE.
29. crimina delent C; delet *corr.* ex delent E.
30. sanitatem multiplicem C.
32. deflucit CDE; *ib.* suberit B.
35. cum
- pro* sed A.
- 33, 34. 26^o *pro secundo* B.
35. alleminis *pro* a feminis A.

- legitur quod, postquam Cristus apparuit mulieribus et
 Matth. ait: *Arete, ipse accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes eius*; ideo, it to others, has as Augustine says, a hidden meaning;
 9 secundo, Augustinus fideliter asserit quod in hiis verbis
 D. dictis Magdalene latet absconditum sacramentum. Et she representing the church of the Gentiles who were not yet converted, and being besides too much attached to Christ as man.
 5 tercio, videtur dicere quod tam allegorice quam tropo-
 logically fuit sensus domini Magdalene singulariter
 nunciatus, quod ipsa figurante ecclesiam gencium, fuit
 ipsa ecclesia post ascensionem plenarie convertenda. Et
 quantum ad tropologiam ipsa Magdalena imperfecte con-
 sideravit Cristi humanitatem, non considerans quomodo
 10 fuit equalis patri divinitus. Ideo fuit exhinc prohibita
 ipsum tangere; quasi diceret, *quia nondum ascendi* in
 consideratione tua *ad equalitatem patris*, ideo, ut istam
 imperfectionem cognoscas et corrigas, *noli me tangere*.
 15 Sed Crisostomus videtur dicere quod apparuit Marie
 in consimili corpore quale habuit ante mortem; et ideo
 disparente dote claritatis, credidit ipsum resurrexisse ad
 vitam communem ducendam cum discipulis, sicut ante.
 Unde et voluit dominum familiariter tangere, sicut et
 20 prius. Sed hanc opinionem repellit, quasi signando
 causam quare apparuit corpus suum non esse gloriosum,
 per hoc quod ostendendo veritatem resurrectionis sue
 per quadraginta dies fuit informaturus ecclesiam ante
 suam ascensionem: unde monuit eam ire ad apostolos,
 25 quos vocavit "fratres suos". Quod si isti sancti iam
 viverent, videntes blasphemiam exactionem osculorum pedis
 romani pontificis, considerantes quod mos est auctoris
 scripture gravidare ipsam multiformi sententia, con-
 sonanter dicerent quod hec mulier, effeminatos signans,
 30 prohibetur ad talia blasfema oscula anhelare.
 Cum enim duplex sit osculum: scilicet corporale
 30^a (licitum | sive illicitum) et spirituale, quod primo habe-
 bitur in beatis, expedito in ipsa corporali osculo, remanet
 spirituale osculum in patria expectandum. Sed osculum
 35 pedum pape caret omnimoda ratione, cum neutri parti
 proficit ad salutem; nam osculans ex culpanda avaricia

Chrysostom
 says that His
 words dispelled
 the false opinion
 of Magdalen,
 that He would
 live on earth
 as before, and
 asserted that
 He was there
 only to form
 the Church.

It those Saints
 lived now, they
 would, giving
 a third sense to
 these words, say
 that *Touch Me*
not forbids us
 to kiss the
 Pope's foot.

Kisses being
 either corporal
 or spiritual,
 these are
 inexcusable in
 either sense.
 1. They are
 harmful to him
 that kisses,
 whether his

2. ten'at pro tenuerunt C. 5, 6. tropoloice A. 7. nunciatus AC;
 ib. ecclesia A. 9. tropoloyam A; ib. magdalene C; ib. perfecte (in
 crasum) E. 9, 10. consideravit deest ACDE. 17. disperante A;
 desperante C corr. in marg. D; ib. resurrexisse D. 19. familiariter A;
 ib. et deest CDE. 22. resurrectionis D. 23. informaturus CDE;
 25-27. sancti — romani pontificis alia manu in marg. add. D.
 26. blasphemiam A. 27. considerantes D; ib. auctoris CE. 28. gravi-
 dari A. 30. anhelari A; anhelare B. 31. osculum duplex in marg. C;
 ib. scilicet deest C. 33. cum expedito C; super lin. add. DE; cum E;
 ib. ipso pro ipsa BCD. 33, 34. remaneat spir. osc. alia manu in marg. D;
 remaneat ABCD corr. E. 35. pedum deest DE.

motive be
interest or
mistaken
devotion;

2. and very
wrong in him
that is kissed,
who is not
equal to Christ,
nor above the
Apostles.

We must either
deny the Gospel
or believe this.

Christ counsels
us to take the
lowest place at
the wedding
feast, when
called:

Which is meant
not of bodily
but spiritual
calling, place,
and feast,
as Grosseteste
points out.

The wedding
feast is the
betrothal of
Christ with his
Church; the
guests are
called by the
sacraments and
by preaching;
and to take the
lowest place is
to consider
oneself the least
among the elect.

vel ex devocione blasfema, omnino culpabitur. Quia
autem tales cecati et palliantes factum, ac excitantes ^{Job}
ad facinus, sunt cause huius yppocrisis, ideo Job 34 XXXIV.
dicitur, *quod deus regnare facit yppocritam propter* ³⁰
peccata populi. In osculato est omnino culpabile, quia 5
non potest parificari Cristo, ut tantam dignitatem reci-
piat. Quod si parificatur apostolis, non excedat honores
huiusmodi ultra quam illi susceperant ad augmentum
sui meriti ex confessione humili, et ad utilitatem populi
honorantis. Ideo illi, instar Cristi, ceperunt benefacere 10
dignificantes se per opera quoad deum, et mundanos
honores respuerunt. Anticristus autem facit omnino
contrarium. Ideo vel oportet negare evangelium, vel
credere quod hec facit ad maximum sui obprobrium, ^{Luc.}
nam Luce 14 mandavit Cristus: *Cum vocatus fueris ad* XIV, 8
nuptias, non discumbas in primo loco, ne forte honoracio ^{et seq.}
te sit invitatus ab illo, et reniens is qui te et illum iniri-
tarit, dicat tibi: da huc locum; et tunc incipies cum
rubore novissimum locum tenere. Constat autem ex fide
et testimonio sanctorum quod Cristus loquitur de voca- 20
cione, de locacione et de cenacione spirituali, non cor-
porali; quia, ut deducit linconiensis, aliter quilibet
fidelis affectaret in nuptiis carnalibus locum novissimum,
et foret in eis intollerabilis contencio, inordinata invita-
torum cumulacio, et omnino doctrine Cristi irrisio. Ideo 25 E.
per nuptias intelligitur sponsacio Cristi et ecclesie, que
perpetuitate complebitur in cena novissima. Ad has
quidem nuptias multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi, ut ^{Matth.}
loquitur Cristus Matth. 22^o; quia quociens interno instinctu, XXII,
sacramentis ecclesie vel predicacione evangelii ad Cristi 14
amorem et ministerium sunt instructi, tociens a domino
sunt vocati. Ille autem discumbit in loco novissimo,
qui pie reputat se minimum electorum. Debet autem
omnis Cristianus reputare se electum, cum debet habere
spem, eciam si fuerit reprobatus. Et ista posicio potest 35

2. osculanti [et] osculato nocet quomodo *in marg.* C. 3. ad *deest* B;
ib. causa DE; *ib.* yppocrisis DE. 5. vero est *pro est* C. 6. Cristo *alia*
manu in marg. add. D. 8. huiusmodi *deest* A. 9. et *deest* DE; *ib.* po-
puli *deest* DE. 10. Cristi *deest* C. 12. fecit C; *ib.* omni A. 13. *after*
ideo, vel *in marg. add.* D. 14. hec *deest* B. 15. Cristus *mandat* C;
mandat Cristus DE. 17. te *deest* D; *in marg. add.* E; *ib.* *merit* A;
ib. *veis* *veis* *pro* veniens D; *veis* E. 20. sanctorum testimonio C.
22. lucoliensis DE. 23. corporalibus CDE. 26. Residere in novissimo
loco in nuptiis *in marg.* A; vocacio ad nuptias spirituales *in marg.* C;
ib. ecclesie D. 26, 27. que perpetuitate *in marg. add.* E. 28. electi C.
31. vel *pro* et A; *ib.* instructi *deest* A. 32. discumbit A. 34. se repu-
tare electum DE. 35. debet *pro* potest A.

in reputacione omni Cristiano competere, quia Paulus, qui vidit archana, reputavit se apostolorum minimum. Sed in die cum ewacuabitur imperfectum quod ex parte est, erit per summum iudicem invitante posita aliena
 5 locacio, cum quilibet predestinatus correspondentem ad suam humilitatem et meritum erit in gloria exaltatus; unde superbus, presumens de dignitate adquisita humanitus, erit indubie, si non resipuerit, ad *locum novissimum* ad magnam sui confusionem in die iudicii condemnatus;
 10 locus novissimus istius ordinis est locus inferni, de quo locatus non exeat *donec reddat quadrantem novissimum* ut dicit Christus Matth. 5^o. Illum quidem locum omnes tales superbi eligunt in effectum. Si ergo papa reputat se patrem sanctissimum, quomodo presumptive eligit
 15 locum primum? nec dubium, nisi papa isti consenserit, posset faciliter destruere istum stilum.

Matth.
V, 26

But in the Day of Judgment he who now takes the lowest place shall be exalted, and the proud man forced to take the lowest place — Hell.

How then can the Pope set himself in the first place, if he thinks himself holy?

Si dicatur quod secundum ius vicarium Christi et Petri et tradiciones humanas in tali loco preficitur; quantum ad primum, patet ex dictis alibi quod blasphema pre-
 20 sumptio est illud asserere; imo, si ita est, faciat fideliter et moderate similiter eorum officium; quia aliter, ut dicit Augustinus, ex discordia vite et usurpati nominis est blasphemus. Quantum ad secundum, patet quod titulus cesareus vel humana tradicio est impertinens beatitudini
 25 aut repugnans. Quomodo igitur non patet populo quod papa, propter mundanam exaltationem et temporalium accumulacionem, tam studiose appetit illum statum? Et patet ex dictis quod tunc ex lepra symonie inficit gregem suum. Nam si propter necessitatem et pro-
 30 fectum ecclesie sic affectat, quare non vivit vitam Petri, cum hoc foret facilius et ex fide meritorius undique?

Objection: The Pope has a right to this: 1. as vicar of Christ; 2. by virtue of tradition

But the first point is mere blasphemy, unless he lives like Christ;

and as for the second, human traditions have nothing to do with holiness, or are even opposed to it, engendering worldly pomp, and the leprosy of simony.

O si regnum nostrum post mortem Urbani Sexti non foret seductum per satrapas, sic quod liberet se a tali
 35 capite et *generacione hac pessima* (ut dicitur Act. secundo)

If England, after the death of Urban VI, would throw off the belief that

Act.
II, 40

1. repugnacione A; *ib.* cum pro omni A. 3. in die iudicii B; *ib.* ewacuabitur CDE. 5. locacio D; *ib.* correspondentem C. 6. exaltus A. 7. adquisita C; adquisita *corr.* ex quesita E. 8. in die C; *ib.* resipuerit CD; *corr.* E. 11. nec pro donec A. 13. tales in marg. *add.* D; *ib.* superbie D. 14. pater sanctissimus in marg. C; *ib.* non omnes MSS. 16. possit C. 19. blasfemia C. 20. ymmo CD. 22. discordia vite usurpatum nomen in marg. C. 24. impertinens CD. 25. ergo C. 26, 27. mundana exaltacio temporalium accumulacio quid arguunt etc. in marg. *infer.* C. 28. symonie A. 29. necessitatem B; meritum pro necessitate ACDE. 31, 32. undequaque C. 33. SIXTI A. 35. actuum DE.

obedience to the pope is necessary, the reign of Antichrist would be ended.

It is enough to love Christ and keep His law, by whom alone we shall be saved.

And then the kingdom might obey any man recognized by his works to be Christ's Vicar: this would be the right obedience.

For every movement of the Christian people should proceed from God as a cause, and His Minister removing each obstacle.

Difficulties in the way; strength of the other party, 1. by the promotion of prelates, 2. the defence of endowments, etc.,

abiciatque istam blasphemiam quod est de necessitate salutis facere fidelium obedienciam et duci per talem capitaneum, patenter destructa foret anticristi blasfemia! Sufficit enim fidelibus quod ipsi pure diligant et teneant legem Cristi; quia (Act. 4) dicit fides apostolorum quod *non est aliud nomen sub celo, in quo oportet nos salvos fieri, nisi nomen domini Jesu Cristi*. O si fideles fratres cum aliis constanter publicarent istam sententiam, postposito omni amore privato, preciosa foret mors sic decedencium ex purgacione gloriosa ecclesie ab antiqua blasfemia, et ex amocione obstaculi tardantis ecclesiam ab ordinacione perfecta primeval! Tunc enim posset regnum nostrum obedire cuicunque docto esse vicario Cristi per opera, sicut debuit obedire sancto Petro, non in fraudulenta temporalium subtraccione, non in membrorum anticristi subdola perfeccione, nec in blasfeme instruccionis seminacione, sed in spiritualium legis Cristi predicacione. Ista enim foret vera obediencia Cristi vicario, a qua saltans et blasfemia priorem exigens indicat, ut sic, se esse vicarium anticristi. Tunc enim fructificaret fides in regnis ut antea, amoto obstaculo diaboli prohibente. Oportet enim motum populi, tamquam motum elementi vel mixti, non ex se fieri, sed a deo generante et ministro dei prohibens removente.

Est autem pars anticristi fortis et multiplex, prohibens istum ignem ascendere: ad quod procurant prelatores et clericorum promocio, dotacionum et tradicionum humanarum defensio, et consuetudinis huius abusus inveteracio. Sed rex celorum et dominus veritatis est

2. fidelium facere CDE. 3. potenter destructa B. 4. ad 4 in marg.: sufficeret fidei quid. 5. actum DE. 6. nomen aliud C. 7. domini nostri C; *ib.* Jesu deest B. 8. mors preciosa in marg. C. 12. 13. regnum nostrum posset C. 13. cuilibet B. 14. sicut CDE; *ib.* debuit debuit A. 16. perfeccione DE. 17. institucionis B. 18. obediencia vera quando esset in marg. C. 19. saluans E; *ib.* priorem blasphemiam C; blasphemiam priorem DE. 21. regiminibus; *corr.* in marg. A; *ib.* aute ea ACE; *ib.* amoto A. 22. diaboli et A; dyaboli DE. 23. mixtum D; *corr.* E. 24. prohibens istum in marg. superiori add. 26. accendere *corr.* ex ascendere E. 26. 27. clericorum et prelatores CDE. 28. consuetudinis E; *ib.* abuse in marg. CDE.

1, 2. *De necessitate salutis*. It is well to notice these words, for the torrent of Wyclif's invectives against the See of Rome might lead us to mistake his position. What he objects to is not so much the obedience given to the Roman Pontiff as the belief that it is indispensable for salvation. A few lines further, he speaks of England *obeying* any one who should be truly found to be the vicar of Christ. 19. *A qua saltans*. This seems to be a somewhat strained metaphor, amounting to the English 'breaking from'.

- forrior principe huius mundi; dicit nobis, inquam, in fide quod quicumque clericus vel episcopus plus appreciatur favorem vel lucrum mundanum quam publicacionem veritatis legis domini, ut sic, inhabilitat se ipsum ad beneficium ecclesie, et ipsum occupans tamquam blasphemus et hereticus nocet plebi. Et idem est iudicium de religioso, qui propter defensionem sue dotacionis sive religionis hoc promovet, vel tacet vecorditer veritatem. Nam act. 5 de Anania et Zaphira legitur deum, propter zelum sue ecclesie, pro minori crimine ambos ad mortem subitam iudicasse. Et quantum ad tertium, patet quod vetustas in malo non arguit facti laudabilem bonitatem, cum lucifer et anticristus eius vicarius, ymmo vetustas peccati persone salvande, sunt continuata diucius quam dicta iniquitas. Non respiciamus igitur longitudinem consuetudinis sed eius repugnanciam legi Cristi. Unde potens est deus illuminare et excitare mentes paucorum fidelium qui constanter detegant et moneant, si digni sumus ad destruccionem huius versucie anticristi. Sic enim, incipiendo a femina, convertit per paucos apostolos totum mundum.
- G. Sed triplex blasfemia huius capitis contra trinitatem beatam est parumper amplius reseranda. Prima est de potestate abscondita; secunda de sapiencia simulata; et tertia est de ficta benevolencia ad edificacionem ecclesie.
- Quoad primum: cum desunt miracula, lucifer non habet medium sibi consonancius quam in isto falsare subdole potestatem; unde cecatur ecclesia, credendo quod eius vicarius habet in dispensacione et absolucione et indulgenciarum concessione tantam preeminenciam potestatis quod nichil valet in istis, nisi quod ipse concedit vel approbat. Unde correspondenter isti ficcioni statuuntur leges quas fingunt ut ewangelium observandas. Veritas quidem est quod vel nichil habet potestatis

and 3. the long standing of these abuses.

But: 1. No member of the clergy who seeks worldly gain, is better than a heretic; 2. a 'religious' doing the like, i. e. defending his order's endowments, is in the same case;

and 3. Lucifer, Antichrist and men living in sin for many years show that we should consider, not length of years, but greatness of evil.

A detailed exposition of the three chief points of the prevailing blasphemy.

1. *Hidden Power.* Though men believe in the dispensing, absolving and indulgence-granting power of the Pope, he has no more than any other priest, if equally good.

1. perfeccior *pro* forrior C; *ib.* principe mundi *in marg. add.* D; *ib.* inquam nobis CDE. 2. inabilis ad beneficium quis *in marg. sup.* C. 3. appreciat E. 4. actum DE; *ib.* de Anania dicitur A; *ib.* Saphira C. 5. quod *deest* A; *ib.* vetustas multitudo longitudo non arguit sed Cristi lex. *in marg. sup.* C. 6. contaminata C; *in marg.* contaminata D; *sub linea additum est*: contra mandata E. 7. consuetudinis E. 8. paucorum mentes C.

22. triplex blasfemia in { potestate
sapiencia
benevolencia } anticristi *in marg. infer.* C.
23. parum C; *ib.* reserando A; reservanda C. 24. est *in marg. add.* A; *ib.* benevolencia ADE. 25. luciferi A. 26. simulare CDE. 27. subdole *deest* C. 28. in *pro* et CDE; *ib.* absolucione *deest* A. 29. in istis *deest* B.

ecclesiastice in casu quo sit precipuus anticristus, vel
habet pariter cum aliis Cristi sacerdotibus eque bonis.

As for dispensations in the matter of vows, these vows were made either wisely or foolishly. If wisely, no dispensation can be wise; if foolishly, the sooner they are unmade, the better: and any priest can do that. If it is unreasonable to dispense with vows, not even an angel could do it: if reasonable, why ask the Pope?

As for human laws, they are null unless based on Christ's laws and right reason; still, they must be set aside with prudence, on account of the danger of such steps.

A layman who follows Christ's counsels has as much merit as a 'Religious', for Christ's Apostles took no vows.

Et quoad dispensaciones, specialiter cum voto, credit catholicis quod votum vel est sapienter vel stulte commissum et continuatum. Assistente vero sapientia in continuacione voti commissi, foret stulticia dispensare. Si autem stulte commissum est, foret prudencia ipsum celeriter dissolvere et de commissionis stulticia penitere: ad eius remissionem et contriti absolucionem sufficit quicunque sacerdos habens claves ecclesie. Non enim subiacet potestati hominis vel angeli dispensare cum religioso vel alio, nisi aput deum sit patens ratio, et apud subiectum utilitas dispensandi. Et sic quicunque stulte voverit, debet sine petita pape dispensacione votum tale dimittere. Et si solus ille habet prudenciam ad consulendum in talibus, est pro consilio requirendus. In quo, si persona vovens vel alii facilius petendi excesserint vel parificati fuerint illo dimisso, ipsi (consultendi gracia) sunt petendi. Et quantum ad leges hominum que videntur istis contrarie, patet quod non ligant nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fundate fuerint, consone rationi. Et secundum istam glosam condicionatam debent intelligi quod, si legi dei sint consone, tunc habeant robur suum. Et ille quem deus inspirando visitat practiset prudenter apparencia mundo inconveniencia que secuntur. Nec debet verti fideli in dubium quin tantum meretur secularis ex tanto fervore caritatis complens Cristi precepta atque consilia, sicut religiosus privati ordinis | adinventi, secundum votum obedienciam et alios ritus perficiens; quia aliter Cristus et eius apostoli imprudenter vel improvide tantum fructum religionis preterissent. Non enim legitur apostolos vel eorum discipulos vovisse tantam obedienciam, fecisse talem professionem vel servasse talem tradicionem humanam in suo modo vivendi, sed racionabiliter respuisse.

1. casum B; in casu *in marg.* add. D; *ib.* quod CE: q^a *corr.* ex in quo D. 2. habet pro tunc A; *ib.* partem pro pariter CDE. 3. *in marg.*: nota de voto B. 4. catholicus D. 5. commissum C. 6. dispensari A. 8. vel ACDE. 9. cuius D; *corr.* ex 2 E. 10. ecclesie D. 11. vel pro cum A. 12. alie A. 13. dispensacio cum voto *in marg.* E. 14. Stulte promissum *in marg.* C. 16. resurgendus A; recurrendus CDE. 17. parva pro persona A. 21. fundate in lege Cristi C. 22. glosa condicionata *in marg.* C. 24. dominus DE. 25. sequuntur CE.

27. furore DE. 28. mandata pro precepta DE; *ib.* sicut D. 31. vel *et acta manu cor.* D; *ib.* invide ABC. 32. apostoli non leguntur vovisse *in marg.* sup. C.

Cum igitur eorum religio exemplaris fuit perfeccior, sequitur quod nobis foret perfeccius servire deo similiter.

- H. Item, si votum repetitum factum homini post votum factum deo habeat tantum virtutis; non est ratio quin
5 per idem votum multiplicatum augetet religionem et meritum. Illa ergo foret excellens nova religio, in qua foret continue innovata professio. Si dicatur quod hoc foret superfluum, revera evidencius foret nedum superfluum sed stultum obligari sic homini post votum in-
10 finitum solemnus factum deo.

Item, nemo prudenter subicit se homini obligatione perpetua, nisi propter informacionem vel commodum reportandum ab eo. Si informacio pensatur, prelati
est sepe stulcius et ducens suum discipulum in pre-
15 cipium. Si ergo rudis discipulus in arte mechanica non obligatur magistro nisi ad tempus, quousque ars sit perfecte cognita, videtur stultum sic obligari obligatione perpetua. Si vero lucrum temporale pensatur, quia illud vel mundana prosperitas sit causa precipua:
20 manifestum est quod committitur ydolatRIA blasfema.

Item, votum vel promissio obediencie facta deo est infinitum melior, sic quod ista superaddita non valet, nisi quanto promovet vel habilitat Cristianum ad illam. Sed obligacio adiecta sepe ad hoc difficultat vel im-
25 pedit, ergo contempni debet ut stolidi. Maior supponitur ex fide. Nam omnis homo, sicut et omnis natura creata naturaliter, dicit se obedire deo, quod est eis obligacio maxima. Cristianus eciam dicit in oracione dominica se dimittere debitoribus debita sua; et proficitur ac
30 vovet se credere in deum. Sicut sacerdos dicit cottidie: *da mihi intellectum domine, et scrutabor legem tuam;*

Vows are considered superfluous after the taking of solemn vows; if so, Baptism is the most solemn vow of all, and renders all others superfluous.

It is folly to submit to the lifelong guidance of a man often of inferior talent: if this submission is interested, it is idolatrous blasphemy.

A promise of obedience to God is above all, and no other has any value, except in so far as it aids the fulfilment of the first; for every creature exists only to that end; our every day prayers, if said with intention, have the effect of a vow; and

1. ergo B. 2. servire simpliciter deo perfeccius *in marg.* C; *ib.* *simpliciter* C; *ib.* domino B; *ib.* simpliciter pro similiter C. 3. Iterum E.
5. votum multiplicatum si augetet religionem *in marg. infer.* C. 7. innovata professio *in marg.* C. 8. 9. revera — sed stultum *in marg. super add. post revera add.*: Sic E. 10. solemnus CE. 11. prudens C.
12. commodum CDE. 14. discipulum suum C. 15. igitur pro ergo CDE.
17. sic stultum C. 18. vero deest BC. 19. quod id AB; quod illud DE.
20. committitur DE. 21. promissum C; *ib.* promissum deo factum multo solemnus *in marg. infer.* C. 26. sicut CDE. 27. eius A.
30. quotidie C; quotidie E. 31. michi C; *ib.* domine deest A.

10. The Baptismal vows, which are infinitely more solemn, since they are *commanded* as necessary for salvation; while the others are only evangelical *counsels*, and therefore belong to a quite different species. One vow is *to follow Christ closely enough not to lose Heaven*; another is *to follow Him as closely as possible*.

no action that
hinders us from
doing our first
duty, can have
any merit.

Now these
small
communities of
monks tie down
their members
and hinder them
from doing
God's work;
the first founder
of these sects
ought to have
thought well
before he
brought them
into being.

Objections:
1. There were
sects under the
Old Law and in
Christ's time. —
True, but we
are no longer
under the Old
Law; and we
nowhere read
of vows made
to men.

et custodiam illam in toto corde meo. Nec dubium
quin quodlibet tale votum vocale debet esse infinitum
solempnius quam votum faciendum cristiano. Et iterum,
certum est quod in istis fit deo obligacio, votum et
professio, non obstante carencia tradicionis humane;
et hoc si fidelis dicit effectualiter, meritorie, et non
derisorie, ista deo. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin
obligacio facta homini non valet nisi de quanto iuvat
ad observandum obligacionem factam deo, quia de tanto
est opus hominis meritorium placens deo. Et quod
minor sit vera patet ex dictis. Nam talia conventicula
ligant religiosos, vel faciunt eos timidos ad dicendum
veritatem in causa dei: faciunt eos gravidatos peccato
publico ex consensu, et difficultant ad discendum et
servandum tradiciones hominum. Nam, suspensa tota
ocupacione talium in pura observancia legis dei, quis
dubitat quin hoc foret meritorius observanti? Mirum
itaque est quod diabolus sophista introduxit istam blas-
femiam, cum caret auctoritate scripture, racione et colore.
Existens ergo in inicio quo primus Cristianus istam
religionem instituit, examinaret racionem, auctoritatem
et utilitatem solícite antequam induceret talem sectam.
Non enim movet quod in lege veteri fuerunt religiosi,
ut filii prophetarum; in tempore Cristi fuerunt reli-
giosi, ut pharisei, saducei et essei; quod in veteri lege
nazarei sanctificabantur cum voto, ut dicitur Numeri 5^o.
Nam volens sic iudaizare notare exemplar, ne addendo
vel diminuendo deficiat in auctoritate exemplaris; quia
modica declinacio in principio facit culpam. Religio
autem quam Cristus instituit in lege sua docet quod,
dimissa observancia veteri vel adinvencione nova, sit in
illa autorisacione facili et delectacione secunda fidelibus
militandum. Unde hec adinventata novitas, habens unum
laudabile, habet mille culpabilia a diabolo indubie adin-

2. quodlibet A; *ib.* de voto religiosorum vocaliter *in marg. sup.* C;
ib. ex se infinitum esse C. 3. solempnius E; *ib.* faciendum A. 4. fit
corr. ex fit E. 8. obligacio facta homini de quanto valet *in marg. sup.* C.

13. et faciunt A. 14. *after* discendum vel; et *alia manu corr.* D.
15. hominis B. 17. dubit A; dubitat DE. 18. sophista diabolus C;
sophista diabolus DE. 20. ergo *deest* E. 21. 22. utilitatem et aucto-
ritatem C. 22. solícite C. 24. 25. ut — ut *deest* AB; *ib.* religiosi
deest DE. 24. quin *pro* in D; *corr.* *in marg.* E. 26. nazarei DE.
27. iudicare A; iudaysare C; iudaisare DE; *ib.* volunt quidam iudaysare
arguendo a simili cum non sit precedens *in marg.* C. 29. a *pro* in C.
31. vel *deest* C. 32. auctoritative CDE; *ib.* facilliter CDE. 33. bonum C;
corr. ex unum DE. 34. mille culpabilia in sectis *in marg.* C; *ib.* dya-
bolo DE.

venta. Ut in lege veteri voverunt deo et non homini, in adinvencionibus modernis, voverunt stulte homini et non deo.

Nec movet dictum Anselmi *de similitudinibus*, quia 2. Anselm speaks in favour of 'Religious' men. — But he speaks of men who observe Christ's law more perfectly: which may happen even among them.
 5 intelligit de illo religioso qui ex maiori caritate observat perfectius legem Christi; quod licet quandoque contingit in privatis ordinibus, non illi sunt per se causa sed observancia legis dei. Ideo ceca est evidenciam, si *multi sancti et scioli processerunt ex istis ordinibus*, ergo sunt
 10 *laudandi*. Laudemus, inquam, gratiam dei, qui in tam presunto periculo conservavit sic homines propter observanciam legis sue.

Nec potest fundari quod obediencia talis, votum vel professio, per se facit ad perfectionem status vel meriti.
 15 Sed si ex cautela diaboli faciat bonum quandoque per accidens, in maiori parte ex inmixtione stulticie facit
 31^b K. malum. Nam, ut docet Thomas, secunda secunde questione 186, in religionibus illis homo obligatur ad multa sub gravi pena, que ommittendo non peccaret
 20 alias vel venialiter. Quis ergo difficultaret se tali religioni irrationabili, cum posset faciliter et libere militare sub benedicta et omnino racionabili simplici lege Christi? Quamvis enim deus, temptando homines, precipit et vult ipsos elicere sensum et visum ad quem deus non
 25 vult quod ipsi compleant in effectu (ut patet de Abraham Gen. 22) tamen nichil precipit nec ad aliquid obligat
 XXII, 1 hominem facere nisi quod vult sub pena peccati fieri; quia aliter liceret — ymo homo deberet — declinare mandatum domini: posito de blasphemo possibili quod
 30 deus occuparet servum suum continue ipsum mandando facere quod non debet fieri, sicut scola anticristi docet

2. advencionibus C. 4. Anzhelmi A; anshelmi C; *corr.* ex anshelmum DE. 5. religiosus verus *in marg.* C. 7. persone (p^a) A; *corr.* ex persone D. 8, 9. nulli sancti processerunt ex ordinibus pro quo deus laudatur, sed quare *in marg. inf.* C. 11. presumpsum periculum *in marg.* C. 15. dyaboli DE; *ib.* facit C; *corr.* ex faciet DE. 18, 168 B; *ib.* Obligatio aggravat sub pena ad ea que alias possent non fieri *in marg. sup.* C. 19. obmittendo AC. 20. igitur C. 21. dum BCDE; *ib.* faciliter libere *in marg.* C. 22. legi DE. 23. ergo B; *ib.* preci C. 25. vult CD. 26. nec pro nichil E; *ib.* aliud A. 27. vult CD. 28. ymmo C. 30. mandando ipsum C. 31. sicut CDE.

4. De Sancti Anselmi Similitudinibus, a work by Eadmer, professing to be compiled from notes taken by him "ex ore B. P. Anselmi". There is a chapter entitled: *Similitudo inter monachum et angelos et Deum* (Migne, t. CLIX, p. 650) many others too sound the praises of monastic life. 17. St. Thomas. *Summa Theol.* 2^a 2^a, qu. CLXXXVI, art. 9, 10.

suis prepositis licere precipere. Quod meritum ergo reportaret in talibus neutris tota obediens, cum non peccaret vel venialiter hec ommittens? Ideo comendat apostolus, Gall. 2^o et 5^o; libertatem quam habet cristiana religio, talia facere sive ommittere. Et Augustinus ad Possidonium *de adulterinis coniugiis*: "Ea sunt in nostris officiis graviora que, cum licet nobis etiam non impendere, tamen causa dilectionis impendimus". Sic ergo videtur quod privata religio obligat prius liberum ad serviendum homini, ut remissius et illiberius serviat deo suo. Si ergo quis fecerit talem obedienciam servo sathane, licet vocetur sacra, Cristus tamen dispensat et eius vicarius dispensare debet celeriter, ut talis obediencia diaboli dissolvatur; quia Ecclesiastici 5^o scribitur: *Si quid vorasti deo, ne moreris reddere; displicet ei, inquit, infidelis et stulta promissio.* Sed quid est infidelius quam quod, ex tali religione inventa humanitus, causatur meritum ad quod non stat quemcunque pure secundum religionem Cristi attingere?

Papa igitur solveret colligaciones impietatis si, virtute sacre obediencie debite deo et ei, preciperet cuicunque preposito talis privati ordinis dispensare cum omnibus suis subiectis, ut pro sua periodo non ad talem obligationem, professionem, obedienciam, vel votum perpetuum astringantur. Hoc enim est possibile, et foret multis meritorium: ymmo, possent cum illo vivere in communi claustraliter, habere omnia in communi, et servare cuncta liberius que forent de perfeccione ordinis Cristiani. Unde, quia secundum Thomam (ubi supra), solum castitas, obediencia et paupertas sunt de essencia cuiuscunque privati ordinis; cum igitur hec communiter pertinent cuicunque sacerdoti vel pure clerico, patet

Galat.
II, 4;
V, 13

Eccle.
V, 3

Christian liberty is praised both by St. Paul and by Augustine; but private religion destroys this, and Christ grants dispensation therefrom, as from a foolish vow; so ought this Vicar to do.

The pope would do well to order all priors of Orders to give a general dispensation to their subjects; which would not interfere with their claustral life.

And this would unite the Church by assimilating the secular with the regular clergy.

2. neutris *in marg.* add. D. 3. obmittens A; *ib.* commendat CDE.
5. obmittere A; omittit CE. 6. possidonium C. 8. igitur C.
9. privata religio ad quid obligat *in marg. sup.* C. 10. illiberius D;
corr. I; *ib.* sic igitur C. 12. dispensa C. 13. diaboli obediencia C;
dyaboli DE. 14. *in marg.* nota B; *ib.* ne ne C. 15. inquit ei CDE;
ib. infide C. 16. ergo D; *ib.* soluet C; solveret E. 21. sibi ADE.
22. privati *deest* A. 23. perydo C. 26. possent ABE. 28. ad perfeccionem DE.
29. quia *deest omnes MSS.* 31. ergo CDE; *ib.* hoc CDE.
31. pertinet omnes MSS.

6. St. Aug. *De Coniugiis Adulterinis, ad Dollentium*, l. 4, cap. XIV (Migne, t. XL, p. 459). 20. It seems here that Wyclif contradicts himself when he speaks of the 'sacred obedience due to the Pope'. The contradiction does not exist in reality, however, the passage only shows that Wyclif would have considered a Pope who thought like himself as the 'real Vicar of Christ.' Or he may be arguing from his opponents' point of view.

quod rationabilis dispensacio et ecclesie magna unicio foret cum irreligiose captivatis taliter dispensari. ut patet Ecclesiastici 5°. Si papa tardat in isto, deus ^{Should the Pope be slow to grant such dispensation, God will grant it; for the vows ought not to have been made.} 5 complet votum sed aggravat peccatum, qui vovit im-provide fratrem iniuste occidere vel quicumque aliud imprudenter, et complet. Ideo lex Cristi precipit quod talis voti irrationabilis caveatur complecio, et de obli-gacionis stulticia fiat contricio. Sic enim sine dispen-sacione humana cessavit apostolus a voto blasfemie. 10 Ymmo, videtur quod papa vel quicumque qui posset taliter captivatos liberare, nedum peccaret graviter, sed committeret blasphemiam omittendo. Tunc enim unice purificaretur cristiana religio, et abiciens sanctos pre- 15 positos privati ordinis studeat facta cristi et faciat illis factis plene similiter.

Nam Bernardus, ut supra exposui, ponit eundem ordinem monachorum qui fuit laicorum conversorum in Jerusalem habencium omnia in communi. Anzhelmus ^{Authorities quoted in favour of Wyclif's view: Bernard compares monks to the early Church; Anselm speaks of a general profession of monachism similar to that of Christ's disciples; which Wyclif understands as the promises of every professing Christian.} 20 eciam, in epistola quadam que sic incipit "Cristianorum" sic loquitur: "Est" inquit "quedam generalis professio prime similis, quam nos docuit dulcissimus pater et frater noster piissimus Jesus; id est monachatus, quod idem est aput nos quod fuit discipulatus aput apostolos"; 25 et probat posterius quod eam rite recipiens mundatur ab omni crimine actuali. Ista, inquam, professio stat in castitate contra carnem, in paupertate contra mun-dum et in obediencia facta Cristo contra diabolium. Quod si aliquis Cristianus professus non fuerit, aut 30 fidelis in professione non consummaverit, non superabit ad celi gloriam triplicem inimicum. Unde Lanfranchus, Lanfranc holds that spiritual danger justifies withdrawal from a monastery. in quadam epistola, scribit: "Si ego Lanfrancus manu

1. ordines primate quomodo dispensarentur *in marg. sup. C.* 2. des-pensari B; dispensare CDE. 3. vinit C. 4. quicumque *pro* quic-quam C. 5. imprudenter E. 6. ymo DE. 7. liberare taliter captivatos C; liberare totaliter captivatos DE. 8. comitteret E; *ib.* omittendo DE; *ib.* unice E. 9. obiciens CDE. 10. sanctis C; *corr. ex tactis* DE. 11. Bernardus CDE. 12-16. *ut supra* — Jerusalem *in marg. add. D.* 17. ponit *in marg. add. E.* 18. laicorum CE; conversorum *alia manu add. E.* 19. hunc inde *pro* habencium A. 20. quadam *deest* CDE. 21. persone CDE; *ib.* piissimus D. 22. id est *deest* B; *ib.* monachus A; monachatus id est disciplinatus *in marg. A.* 23. et ab omni mundatur C. 24. professio in quo C. 25. et *pro* in C; *ib.* dyabolium DE. 26. consummavit A; consummaverit *corr. ex consequent. C.* 27. Lanfranchus *in marg. B;* Lanfranchus *in marg. C.*

10. *De Apostasia*, p. 3. 20. I can find no letter extant that begins thus. 32. Lanfranc. Ep. LX. *Ad Rudolphum Abbatem* (Migne, 1. CL., p. 549); Bened. ed. 329.

propria me de aliquo monasterio non recessurum iurassem, viderem autem quod ibi animam meam salvare non possem, statim exirem, nec periurii crimen incurrerem."

The fictive power of the Pope, by which he commands angels and regulates things of the next world, would be far better employed in enjoining the Superiors to command nothing against God's law.

Papa, inquam, qui fingit sibi tantam potestatem inesse, laxaret ipsam in isto ad edificacionem ecclesie. Legi enim 5 ex quadam bulla pape Clementis quomodo mandavit 32^a angelis paradisi quod animam sic decidentis in purgatorio absolutam ad gaudia perpetua introducant. Et statim post: "voluimus ex consensu fratrum nostrorum cardinalium, quod si aliqua persona rediens de indul- 10 gencia predicta, instigante diabolo, peccato consenciat | M. et in eo peccato perseverante contingat eum mori ratione peccatorum que antea comiserat et sibi virtute anuli fuerint absoluta et indulta, nolumus quod pena inferni sibi aliquatenus inferatur, nisi ratione peccatorum 15 que post adventum fuerint perpetrata". Iste, inquam, papa, qui tam imperatorie mandat angelis et tante videtur dispensare contra veritatem legis divine, posset faciliter mandare prelati quod non obligent suos subditos dissona legi dei, specialiter cum hodie mundus in 20 ipsos tantum invaluit, quod impossibile sive difficile est ipsos servare paupertatem vel obedienciam deo suo.

II. False Wisdom. As is the Pope's power, so is his wisdom, which he must have to govern the Church; the proof is that he governs neither himself nor his people by Christ's laws.

Quantum ad blasphemiam contra verbum, patet quod papa dicit se tacite habere sapienciam supra omnes alios mortales ad ecclesiam regulandum. Deus enim non 25 committit sibi curam ecclesie sue, nisi infundat sibi claves sciencie ad officium istud necessarie. Et sicut potestas predicta false fingitur, sic et ista sciencia, ut patet ex duplicitate regiminis; nec ipsum regit nec populum secundum regulas legis Cristi. Per hoc enim, et non 30

1. non *deest* A. 5. laxaret papa religiosos ad ecclesie edificacionem *in marg. inf.* C. 6. qua A. 6, 7. Clemens angelis mandavit ha *in marg.* C. 7. decedentis A; *corr.* DE; decidentis D *corr.* ex decedentis; decedentis *corr.* ex decidentis E. 7, 8. purgatorie A. 8. *in marg.*: Nota blasphemiam eiusdem bulle papalis B; *ib.* perducant B. 10. reddiam AC. 11. dyabolo CDE. 13. ante ea ACDE; *ib.* commiserat C. 14. volumus A; nolumus CDE. 15. aliquatus A; aliquatenus DE. 17. caute *pro* tante C. 19. obligent B. 20. dimissorie A. 21. tantum in eos C; *ib.* impossibile C; mundus invaluit in religiosis *in marg. sup.* C. 23. blasfemia in sapiencia *in marg.* C. 24. manifeste *pro* tacite C; manifeste habere tacite (manifeste *in marg. add.*) DE. 26. non *deest* CE. 27. ut *pro* nisi E; nisi (Vt alia manu *corr.*) C. 28. et *deest* C; *ib.* sententia *pro* sciencia D; sciencia *corr.* ex sententia E. 30. Jesu Cristi C.

16. This may have been a spurious Bull. The doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is that the eternal penalty of sins that are absolved is for ever blotted out; so that a man going to hell after falling into one mortal sin since his confession, could only suffer for that sin. The will of the Pope has nothing to do with this.

per verba ficta, crederetur sibi inesse vera sciencia; sicut per opera perversa creditur inesse apostasia atque stulticia. Illi autem qui nituntur fingere claves ecclesie non esse scienciam discernendi et sanandi morbos ovium, sed nudam potenciam, fingunt, ac si dicerent deum suum esse potentem et non sapientem: sicut diffamatur diabolus. Nos autem, sicut distingwimus patrem a filio, nec unum posse esse sine alio, sic in pastore Cristi vicario non datur potestas regendi sine sciencia; nec e contra. Sciencia autem in qua oportet ipsum pre-cellere, est fides scripture, cum noticia legis dei sit requisita ad regimen animarum. Non loquor autem de sciencia disputandi, sed de noticia beatitudinem sibi et populo acquirendi: que sciencia, sicut inluit apostolis, sic et regimen animarum.

Tercia blasfemia contra spiritum sanctum est ficta benevolencia, qua vicarius anticristi mentitur se jura Cristi defendere, ac debita sponse sue exigere, non propter affectionem quam habet ad temporalia, sed propter salutem anime detinentis, et propterea versatur N. totum regimen ecclesie circa ista. Sed ista duplicitas (quam spiritus sanctus effugiet) ex hoc convincitur, quod deficit potestas pape auferendi ista terrena que vendicat a proximo subtrahente. Deus autem, si tantum appreciaretur has temporalium possessiones, daret vicario suo potenciam ad illas acquirendum et servandum, eciam invito adversario impugnante. Sic enim dat suis potestatem acquirendi et servandi virtutes, invitis hostibus; cum virtus per pacienciam iniurie inimici acquiritur, et quesita non perditur nisi gratis, eciam toto exercitu diabolorum et hominum renitente. Defectus igitur pape querendi et servandi temporalia docent apostatas quod non in tali eorum possessione beneplacitum fuit deo. Aliter enim oporteret concedere blasfeme quod in bonis

To say that the keys imply power without wisdom is an absurd fiction: the Vicar of Christ must have both; the knowledge of Holy Writ, not scholastic, but practical.

III. Feigned benevolence.

The Pope pretends that his love of temporal power proceeds merely from charity and zeal for the Church's rights. But if these possessions were necessary, God would never allow them to be taken from him, any more than His grace from His servants.

The Pope's want of success shows that God is not pleased with this temporal power.

2 sicut enim C; *ib.* et C; *ib.* opera perversa signa apostasie *in marg. sup.* C. 6. sicut A. 7. diabolus DE; *ib.* sicut *deest* B; *ib.* distingwimus D; *ib.* a filio *twice* A. 8. esse *deest* A. 10. que sciencia et potestas requiruntur ad clavem *in marg. inf.* C. 11. acquirendi C; *ib.* sicut A. 16. ficta benevolencia tertia blasfemia *in marg. inf.* C. 17. benevolencia ACDE; *ib.* mtor D. 19. per *pro* propter C. 19—20. sed propter — sed ista *in marg. inf. alia manu add.* D. 22. sanctus *deest* C. 23. populo *pro* pape A; auferendi E. 26. ad illas potenciam DE; *ib.* acquirendum C. 27. pugnante C; impugnante C; impugnante *alia manu add.* D. 28. acquirendi C; *ib.* eciam invitis CDE. 29. in iniurie C, in *alia manu add.* D; *corr.* E; *ib.* acquiritur C. 31. diabolorum E; *ib.* renitente D; remittente E. 32. Temporalia cumulat papa non secundum deum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* doceret CDE; *ib.* apostotas D. 33. tuerit C. 34. blasfeme concedere C.

que deus plus ponderat fuit improvidus ordinando remedia.

The whole life
of Christ
condemns this
greed of
temporal lucre.

Secundo, contra veritatem finguntur mendacia, cum vita Cristi docet tam verbo quam opere quod aufugit detestans in se et in suis vicariis tale dominium. Qua fronte igitur blasfeme finguntur ista debere pape competere jure Cristi? Si igitur iste due persone tolluntur, necesse est spiritum sanctum tolli. Ideo inevitabiliter sequitur quod papa non amat salutem anime subditi sed sua stercora; quia, deficientibus illis, non laborat more apostoli lucrifacere animabus, ut patet de nationibus barbaris convertendis. Nec tantum sollicitat fulminare censuras pro crimine sicut pro temporali stercore, cum crimen pro temporalibus faciliter summe simoniace potest emi. Et hec ratio quare prudentes divisi a nobis nolunt duci regimine talis ducis. Caucius enim sequeretur Cristum, fugiendo hanc generacionem pessimam anticristi, cum subditi sunt ei consentanei ex consensu. Et tantum inveterata malicia in aluit, quod unius simplicis momentanea rebellio parum proderit, cum satraparum suorum persecucione sit statissime extingendus.

We should
refuse to obey
such a leader;
but the rebellion
of one man
alone would be
promptly
crushed.

It is safer to
fly from this
generation in
spirit and wait
for Antichrist
to be destroyed
by a miracle.

Ideo videtur tucius a generacione ista saltem in mente auffugere et ad proteccionem Cristi confugere, reliquendo destruccionem anticristi cum suis satrapis dei miraculo. Scimus quidem quod oportet ut viis nobis absconditis istud eveniat, sicut scimus quod *personarum acceptio non est apud deum; sed in omni gente vel loco qui ipsum dilexerit, acceptus est illi*, et eo acceptior, quo fuerit tradicionum anticristi et complicum suorum detestabilior. Seminacio itaque blasphemiarum et fructus sui modi crescendi docet patule quod minera blasfemie ita jacet.

4. signantur A. 5. aufugit D. 5. in (post et) deest C. 6. ergo CDE; *ib.* populo pro pape C. 7. prime B. 9. animam vel salutem B; anime subditi salutem C. 10. stercora subditorum coniungitur amare papa in marg. inf. C. 12. 13. Censuras non fulminat pro crimine sed pro stercore in marg. sup. C. 13. 14. pro — pro in marg. sup. add. D. 14. facillit C; *ib.* symoniace E. 15. prudenter C; corr. ex prudentis DE. 16. enim deest B. 19. momentanea rebellio C. 21. suorum E; *ib.* extingwendus E. 22. age'nanon C (*sic*); *ib.* istam C. 23. aufugere E. 24. dei miraculo relinquere C. 25. nos pro ut viis A; hiis corr. B; viis CDE. 22. sicut D. 28. erit est C. 31. quod deest A.

15. Allusion to the Western schism.

CAPITULUM SECUNDUM.

A. Ulterius restat detegere ramos huius blasfemie. Nec
dubium quin omnis consentaneus, cooperans, defendens
vel consulens, omnis eciam auctorisans sectas ut illud
5 foveant vel defendant, sicut omnis ocians a reprehensione
vel spirituali iuvamine ad destruendum hanc sectam
Cristo contrariam: omnis enim, inquam, talis est ramus
vel adiacens huic arbori maledicte. Et sic pauce vel
nulle secte sunt inter nos, quin sapiant eius fructum;
10 mille autem sunt meandri reputati pro nichilo, per quos
sathan introducit maiora scelera, ut sunt 1. tradicionum
humanarum exaltacio, 2. scole legis Cristi depressio et
3. in malo sub apparencia boni coniuracio.

The branches
of blasphemy
are formed by
all those who
in any way
consent to it.

1. Cautela quidem diaboli est sub simulacione yppo-
15 critica sanctitatis introducere sectam suam. De primo
dixi alibi diffuse quomodo lex pape contenciosa subtrahit
sub fuce sanctitatis ab informacione, ab execucione et a
dileccione legis dei, cum tamquam contraria sese diri-
munt. 2. In legis Cristi depressione sunt mille cautele
20 diaboli, ut sunt pro gloria scole in disputacionibus
morosa occupacio, pro humana gloria contrariacio, et
(quod pessimum est) legis Cristi depravacio; ut nostri,
inter bona que seminant, dicunt quod scriptura sacra
secundum maiorem partem sui est summe heretica et
25 blasfema. Et horror huiusmodi distrahit multos ab atten-

Three causes of
great crimes,
1. the exaltation
of traditions,
2. the abasement
of Christ's
School, 3. the
conspiracy of
evil under the
appearance of
good.

Tricks of the
devil;
hypocrisy, vain
scholastic
disputes,
quarrels for
glory and
corruption of
Christ's law.

1. capitulum etc. *deest* A; capit. sec. *deest*, sed prima litera capituli sequentis coeruleo colore picta est, in marg. numerus "2" apparet C; Inscriptio *deest* sed in marg. numerus "2m" rubro colore pictus D; Inscriptio *deest* in marg. "2m" Pro prima litera V spatium relictum est E. 5. sicut D; ib. ocians a reprehensione in marg. C. 6. destruendam DE; ib. istam pro hanc DE. 7. inquam *deest* B. 10. sex pro sunt D; corr. E; ib. reputandi AB; corr. D; in marg. E. 11. scelera maiora in marg. C; ib. 1 *deest* ACD. 12. 13. 2. 3 *deest* ACD; in marg. BE. 15. in *deest* B. 14. 1 *deest* ACDE; dyaboli DE; cautela diaboli in marg. C. 16. dituse D; ib. lex pape in marg. C. 17. a *deest* AB. 18. 19. diminuit C; derimunt AB; sed in marg.; diminunt E. 19. legis cristi depressio in quo in marg. C; ib. 2 *deest* ACDE; in marg. B. 20. dyaboli DE. 22. dampnacio pro depravacio E. 23. scriptura sacra contempnitur quare in marg. sup. C.

Evil under the
semblance of
good, as shown
in the doctrine
of the
Eucharist.

It is idolatry to
adore as God
what is not
God; and they
absurdly say
that the Host
is God; this is
the greatest of
all lies.

The more
favoured the
people, the
more abject the
sign
worshipped, the
more precious
the thing
blasphemed by
that worship;
the worse is
the idolatry.
Every idolater
thinks he
worships God,
yet does not
please Him, for
the same reason
as the
worshippers of
the Host.

cione legis dei, dirimit eius auctoritatem ex varia multi-
tudine glosatorum, et ad tantum extraneat logicam
scripture quod nullus modus loquendi est illis abieccior.
Et de isto patet diffuse alibi. 3. Quantum ad tercium patet
quod pars anticristi tot habet complices, quorum qui- 5
dam subtilius et quidam expressius sunt contrarii legi
Cristi; ut in sacramento sub pallio sanctitatis sunt
hereses et ydolatrie simulate, ut patet de sacramento
altaris. In qua materia si ydolatre sunt quicunque qui
adorant creaturam non deum tamquam deum, patet 10
quod tam de clero quam populo multi sunt idolatre:
cum multi credunt et adorant hostiam (que de facto
est panis in natura et corpus Cristi in figura) ac si esset
naturaliter et idemptice corpus Cristi et sic deus, cum
notum sit quod corpus Cristi est Cristus et per con- 15
sequens deus noster, ut patet in materia de incarnatione.
Et tamen ad tantum ydolatre nostri insaniunt, quod
dicunt non esse aliud naturaliter corpus Cristi in celo
glorificatum et objective beautificans cives celi, quam est
hostia quam sacerdos conficit, tractat et manducat; et 20
sic de aliis inconvenienciis, que recitavi paganos de-
ridendo deducere. Nec potest ista impossibilitas heretica,
ad quam sequitur deum non esse et omne aliud incon-
veniens excusari; quia deus veritas odit omne mendacium:
ergo multo magis tantum mendacium de se ipso. 25

Item potest committi blasfema ydolatria colendo crea-
turam abjectam non deum tanquam ipsa sit deus: ergo,
posita aliqua ydolatria, oportet concedere istam ex
peculiaritate populi, ex abiectione signi culti, et ex
preciositate corporis blasphemati esse ydolatriam gra- 30
vissimam. Item nullus est fidelis ydolatra quin fingit B.
se deum suum colere devote in suo ydolo: sed quia
devocio est mendax, ydeo non placet deo veritatis.
Cum ergo eadem sit ratio in tali cultu, videtur quod
sit ydolatria perhorrenda. Nec dubium quin ex defectu 35

4. diffuse D; *ib.* 3 *deest* ACD; *in marg.* BE. 5. habet tot CDE.
6. expressius subtilius A. 7. pallio AC. 8. de ydolatria circa sacra-
mentum *in marg.* A. 9. scilicet *pro* si A. 10. idolatria circa euka-
ristiam *in marg. inf.* C. 11. *word effaced after* quam A; quam de CDE;
ib. ydolatre BE. 12. et *deest* A. 13. cave *in marg.* C. 14. ydemp-
tice CDE. 15. *post est scriptum erat* corpus C. 16. in materia *in*
marg. add. D. 18. essencia A. 21. recitant B. 22. impossibilitas D.
24. dominus *pro* deus E. 25. igitur C. 27. 28. ergo posita aliqua
ydolatria oportet concedere *deest* C. 29. obiectione ABC. 31. in-
fidelis CE; *corr.* ex fidelis D. 32. colere *corr.* ex collere A; collere
deum suum C. 33. ideo E. 34. igitur CDE. 35. defectus instruc-
tionis de eukaristia tangitur *in marg. sup.* C.

instruccionis tam cleri quam laici sic blasfeme intelligunt. In cuius signum fingunt ydemptitatem eiusdem corporis dimensionam multiplicem, et sic de aliis blasfemiis. in quibus gravius profundantur.

- 5 Et omnino culpandi sunt fratres qui habent codices suos plenos hoc testimonio, tam novos quos appreciantur ut ewangelium, quam antiquos; et tamen non iuvant predicantem hanc fidem in populo, sed fidem suam blasfeme reticent et depravant, ut codices ipsorum sunt
 10 pleni: *quod non videtur corpus Christi in sacramento oculo corporali; quod sacramentum illud visum corporaliter ab eis in manibus sacerdotis nec est nec esse potest corpus domini ydemptice, nec pars eius.* Et tamen dicunt: Talia non sunt predicanda populo, ne eius devocio
 15 extingatur; sed permitti debet in eius ydolatria sordescere. Cuius causam ego non video nisi ut populus, propter questum et reverenciam mundanam presbyteri, seducatur: et sic sunt indubie ydolatre ex consensu.
 Eph. 3 Nam secundum apostolum ad Eph. 4, *Una est fides.*
 20 Eandem ergo fidem, quam aput se abscondunt de hostia, debent revelare populo, ne peccet idolatria. Sciunt, inquam, quod sequitur: *hoc est sacramentum quod oculo corporali conspicimus:* ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus*
 33^a *Cristi.* Sciunt eciam quod sequitur: | *multe sunt hostie*
 25 *consecrate distantes localiter, et quantumcumque contrarie in accidentibus variate:* ergo, *nulla earum est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Et sciunt, tercio, quod sequitur: *hoc sacramentum est accidens* (ut fingunt ex fide); ergo, *non est ydemptice corpus Christi.* Sicut ergo credunt ante
 30 cedens ex fide, sic predicent et consequens, cum multi sunt ydolatre pessimi, non credentes.

The Friars are much to blame for allowing the doctrine of the identity of the Host with Christ to spread amongst the people, knowing its falsity as they do.

They say that this doctrine favours popular devotion; but Faith is one.

A sacrament is not identical with Christ; nor is an accident; and the Hosts differ in many things from each other.

1. clerici C; *ib.* layci E. 2. ydemptificationem CDE; *ib.* eiusdam B. 3. dimensionem A; dimensionam *corr.* ex dimensionem D; *ib.* multiplicationem A; *corr.* B. 4. fratres culpandi quia non iuvant veritatem in *marg. inf.* C. 5. tam *pro* quam A; *ib.* non iuvant *corr.* ex nominant D; *super* iuvant *alia manu* nominant E. 6. recitant C; *corr.* ex reticent D; recitant *sed in marg.:* reticent E; *ib.* dampnant A. 7. nec *corr.* ex quod nec D. 8. tum *pro* tamen C. 9. predicando C. 10. extingwatur E. 11. causa non publicationis in *marg.* C. 12. presbyteri C. 13. una est fides nota in *marg.* D; *ib.* apud E; *ib.* hoc *pro* hostia A. 14. ydolatria CDE. 15. carnali C. 16. 21. idemptice in corpus cristi non est hostia in *marg. sup.* C. 17. varietate B; *ib.* erit B; *ib.* ydemptice est C. 18. non credunt A. 19. predicet C; predicant A. 20. nec *pro* non C.

12. Aquinas (Sum. Theol. 3^a Pars, qu. 76, art. 7) absolutely denies that Christ's Body can be seen in the Sacrament by any bodily eye. It is no doubt to this universal doctrine of the School that Wyclif alludes. See *De Apostasia*, Introduction, p. xix.

If they do not believe the people is misled, let them enquire, and they will find it out.

Some say they believe in general what Catholics should believe; a wavering position.

And if this dogma is of so little account, the Church should not be burdened with it.

Besides it must be important, if so many consider it as part of our faith, and others as flat idolatry.

Some blasphemously say that Christ spoke so obscurely as to leave us free to choose the side we prefer, since some say and some deny,

that Scripture points to identification of bread with Christ's body.

Wyclif's position.

If there is obscurity, we need faithful theologians, not greedy and worldly men, as at present.

Quod si non credunt, scrutentur in populo vulnus blasfemie et cognoscent quod maior pars populi, eciam clerus, qui reputat se capitaliter regere multas ecclesias, volunt mori in ista fide et occidendo in contrarium docentes irruere. Quidam autem fingunt quod non 5 credunt hoc diffinite, sed in communi credunt veritatem catholicam; sed quantum ad istud fluctuant, utramque partem dubitantes, tamquam impertinens fidei Cristiane. Sed rogo sic loquentes pensare quot Cristiani credunt diffinite contrarium. Pro salute ergo fratrum est veritas 10 detegenda. Item, si sit impertinens fidei, ad quid predicatur tam attente vel introducit ad onus ecclesie? Item, sic asserere esset blasfemare in legem domini et scandalizari doctores ecclesie, cum papa, sancti multi et communitas doctorum intromittunt se, absolute asserentes 15 ut fidem scripture simpliciter unam partem. Alii autem dicunt quod omnino est ydolatria credere talem hostiam ydemptice esse deum; et ex defectu noticie scripture, et in penam peccati parvipendencium ipsam cum suis studentibus atque doctentibus, est ista perplexitas ex 20 cautela diaboli introducta. Nec sciunt illi qui videntur regere ecclesiam perplexitatem istam dissolvere; et sic diffiniencium in penam peccati indubie multitudo multipliciter est divisa; nec sciunt subditi cui credent. Ideo alii blasfemant dicentes Cristum et suos apostoles cum 25 doctoribus sequentibus seduxisse ecclesiam locucionibus obscuris atque equivocis per quas fideles possunt credere quancunque partem contradiccionis voluerint; ut hii dicunt quod in sex locis scriptura loquitur ydemptice de corpore Cristi; et hii, quod loquitur tropice. Quantum 30 ad istud credo, ut dixi in tractatu *de Eukaristie*, quod panis consecratus est in figura, non in natura, sacramentaliter, non substancialiter, et tropologice, non ydemptice, corpus Cristi. Et ad magnam utilitatem ecclesie, Cristus sic locutus est obscure atque equivoce, 35 ut fideles mercantur in sensus scrutinio, et ut ecclesia, detestans leges humanas, cognoscat se specialiter indigere theologis qui interpretentur sibi fideliter legem

3. ecclesias D. 4. vlt CDE; *ib.* fide *deest* CDE. 8. impertinens C. 9. quod diffinite B; quod *pro* quot C. 10. erit B. 12. aut *pro* vel DE. 13. dei CDE. 14. scandalizare CDE. 16. scire veritatem de eukaristia congueret *in marg. sup.* C. 21. dyaboli DE. 25. dicentes *in marg.* B. 26. ecclesiam D. 32. panis consecratus quomodo est corpus Cristi *in marg. sup.* D; *ib.* erit B. 33. tropice BCDE. 34. obscure locutus est cristus de sacramento propter meritum *in marg. sup.* C; *ib.* utilitatem sic C. 35. est locutus sic DE. 38. interpretarentur ABDE.

dei; per illos enim tempore apostolorum. martyrum et sanctorum doctorum crevit ecclesia. Sed post genus theologorum, avaricie deditum, divisum est et conmixtum inter satrapas tradicionis humane; et multiplicatur per sectas dissensio secundum tempus periculosum, quod Cristus et suus apostolus predixerunt: et totum hoc est ad exercicium et meritum electorum. Et si queratur quid fidelis debet eligere, dicitur quod debet vivere in fide scripture et quem sensum de illa deus donaverit pie credere, et habere sensum scripture pure propter hoc quod papa et secte sic asserunt plus suspectum; quia vel sunt ignari sensus domini, et secundum Jeronimum, tractant fabrilia fabri, vel propter superbiam ac avariciam contempnentes sanctos doctores vel glosantes per oppositum magnificant dicta sua.

D. Quis ergo color, ut dixi alias, Si Innocencius tercius sic asserit, ergo verum? Nec enim movet ad hoc quod contra imperatorem blasfeme obiurgavit, quia noluit patriarcham suum secundum mundi gloriam exaltare; nec propter hoc quod in signum blasfemi dominii seduxit regem anglie, quod solveret sibi nongentas marcas pro anglia et ybernia; nec propter hoc quod anno sexto eius fratres predicatorum inceptorum. Quia ergo ecclesia pape Nicolai secundi ante circiter centum annis declaravit expresse catholice conformiter sanctis doctoribus et scripture istam materiam, ideo sibi debet credi potius posteriori priori postposito. Glosa tamen sibi debet dari ob reverenciam, quantum permittit mensura fidei: ut transsubstanciatio panis, quam ponit primo decretalium capitulo *Firmiter*, debet concedi ad sensum catholicum. Sic enim fuit Thomas Cantuariensis subito mutatus in

The faithful should believe on that point what Scripture tells him, notwithstanding the Pope and the Sects.

Innocent's decree is not necessarily true; and his conduct towards the Emperor, England, and the Dominicans renders Pope Nicolas preferable.

Yet, out of respect, one decree should be explained to mean a change like that of 'conversion'; and the other is doubtfully expressed.

1. martirum DE. 3. theologis factis avaris quid secutum est *in marg. inf. C.* 4. 5. multiplicata C. 8. fidelis quid eligeret *in marg. sup. C.* 9. deus de illa CE. 12. vel *pro* et C. 16. *in marg.*: Nota abusiones Innocencii IIIⁱⁱ; Innocencii tercii condiciones non bone, tamen debet glosari propter reverenciam *in marg. inf. C.* 17. quod *deest* A. 18. obiurgat *omnes* MSS. 21. solvet C. 22. ybernia auuatim A; hybernia CE; hibernia D. 24. annos *corr.* ex annis E. 27. quam propterea *pro* priori B; papa CDE; priori *deest* A; *ib.* debet sibi CE. 28. propter *pro* ob CE. 29. de transsubstanciacione *in marg. sup. C;* *ib.* inponit B. 30. debet firmiter B; firmiter *in marg. add. D.* 31. Quintuariensis A; Cathuriensis C; Canturiensis D; Caturiensis E.

13. From Horace (perhaps quoted by St. Jerome) Ep. l. II, l. 115, 116. Quod medicorum est

Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri. See De Apostasia, p. 171. 16. In *De Apostasia*, p. 69, l. 37. 30. Decr. Grat. lib. I, tit. 1, c. 1.

But the Friars
have taken
transsubstan-
tiation as a
destruction of
the substance,
and so the
Sacrament
is mere
quantity;
of what sort,
they know not,

and are much
embarrassed to
choose.

This is
blindness; the
subject is only
lost sight of by
the minds of
the faithful;
just as an image
makes one think
of what it
represents, not
of what it is,
without losing
its entity on
that account.

The other
explanation
contradicts
Scripture, the

virum alium; et sic mutantur pape, sopito priori nomine,
sine destruccione. Et quantum ad dictum suum de cele-
bracione missarum, capitulo, *Cum Marthe*, patet quod
ambigue procedit et non decretive in ista materia. Unde
fratres sequentes subtiliaverunt infundabiliter et irra- 5
cionabiliter ad gravamen et perturbacionem ecclesie,
ponentes per "transsubstanciacionem", "destruccione[m]
substancie"; | propter existenciam accidencium per se 33^b
ponunt sacramentum altaris esse nude quantitatem. Sed
non explicant (ut nec sciunt) de sex generibus quantitatis 10
famosis, sub quo genere quantitatis eukaristia sit con-
tenta. Vident enim quod non sit numerus, locus aut
tempus. Et de longitudine, latitudine et profunditate
quidam, licet inevidenter, eligunt sextum genus; et sic,
facta rarefaccione vel condensacione per totam, ponunt 15
totam quantitatem sequentem, eciam si ponatur quantitas
successiva, non esse sacramentum vel aliquam eius
partem: et non est conveniens eorum testimonium, ut
patet diffuse alibi.

Et movet hic cecitas! Post consecracionem manent 20
accidencia sensibilia in actu considerandi, sopita actua-
litate subiecti ex consideracione animi: ideo ponunt tale
accidens sine subiecto quolibet existente, et undique
inductis blasfemis opinionibus oneratur ecclesia. Sicut
enim intrans domum et videns ymaginem, non suspendit 25
consideracionem suam quo ad naturam ymaginis, utrum
sit de quercu, buxo vel salice, sed totam intencionem
et devocionem suam suspendit in signato; consimiliter
est de Eukaristie sacramento. Non tamen propterea
sequitur quod natura ymaginis destruitur vel desinit 30
quoad deum. Magna itaque foret seduccio, quod scriptura E.
sacra vocat sacramentum regulariter panem, ut loquitur
canon misse, quod tam multi sancti et leges ecclesie

2. distraccione B. 4. discretive B: non decretive *in marg.* C. 5. subtiliaverunt *deest* A; subtiliarunt CE; *in marg. add.* D. 6. quantitatis *pro* altaris A. 11. genere quantitatis ABD. 14. sic *deest* B. 15. facto A; *ib.* vel *corr.* ex et D. 18. eorum *deest* ACDE. 19. diffuse D. 20. eos *pro* hic ACDE; *ib.* cecitas monet fratres *in marg.* C. 21. consyderandi D. 22. obiecti B; *ib.* consyderacione D; *ib.* anni *pro* animi A. 23. quomodolibet CDE. 24. opiniones blasfeme *in marg.* C; *ib.* sic *pro* sicut C. 25. non *deest* ACDE. 26. consyderacionem D. 27. de *deest* B. 27. 28. intencionem et *deest* A. 28. suspensio devocionis *in marg.* C. 30. desint A. 31. cum id *eras.* *pro* deum E. 31. 32. sacra scriptura CE. 32. regulariter panem sacramentum A; *ib.* et ut *omnes* MSS. 33. ecclesie *deest* A.

20. All this is but a summary of what is expounded at length in *De Apostasia* and other treatises.

dicunt tam concorditer quod "panis et vinum erunt corpus Christi et sanguis"; (ymmo cantus novellus ecclesie dicit quod *fit sanguis Christi merum*; et sic de multis dictis ecclesie, que omnia non possunt salvari nisi ad sensum figurativum vel tropicum. Nec valet glossa adversariorum exponencium hec dicta per suum oppositum, et annectens extraneas paliaciones; quia idem foret sic glossare et manifeste negare eos; imponere eis ignorantiam logice, et subtilitatem sermonis sibi ipsis ascribere); et sic tales tripliciter seducunt ecclesiam, scilicet, in perfida et consentanea simulacione, in blasfemorum miraculorum faccione, et in horrenda inconveniencium intricacione. Nam audiunt cottidie pertinaciter defensatum ut fidem, quod sacramentum eucharistie est realiter verus deus, quem vident oculo corporali; et tamen, quia hoc eis sonat ad commodum, obmutescunt! Et tamen doctores eorum quos colunt dicunt expresse quod hoc foret ydolatria turpissima. Sed subtiliant nimis inaniter in materia de quiditate hostie, sed discordant sine fundamento solido fluctuantes.

Sed per opinionem suam non subtiliant naturam hostie supra panem alium non sacramentum? sicut non subtiliant in materia de quiditate baptismi et penitencie, in qua est tanta difficultas et opinionum varietas? Quidam enim dicunt quod sacramentum baptismi est aqua, alii quod est sal, tercia quod est oleum, quarti quod est vox baptisantis: quia, cum sit aliquid non potest esse ex naturis tam variis aggregatum, quia sic nichil foret hoc necessarium sacramentum; et sic hoc sacramentum non esset, sicut nichil esset. Quinti dicunt quod hoc sacramentum est aliquid numinis, in signis illis absconditum. Et sexti dicunt quod est unum ex omnibus istis vel eorum aliquibus aggregatum. Et sic

liturgy, all traditions and sayings of the Church, or explains them against their real meaning.

A threecold seduction:
I. *dissimulation*,
II. *fictitious miracles*, and
III. *great absurdities*.

I. *Dissimulation*. They are mute, when they hear it said: we see Christ with our bodily eyes.

Their subtleties extend even to Baptism. Some say the sacrament is water, others salt, oil, the words uttered, some hidden thing, or the collection of all these.

1. tam *deest* CE; *delet* D; *ib.* erant CE. 2. sanguis C. 3. sanguis CE; sanguis christi fit merum *in marg.* C; *ib.* sit *pro* fit D; *post* fit *add.*: que E. 4. ecclesie *in marg.* *add.* D. 5. glosa CE. 6. annectens A; *ib.* palliatus CE; palliaciones D; *ib.* sic foret C. 7. glosare D; glozare E; *ib.* eis *deest* B. 8. o. antiquis sanctis quidam imponunt ignorantiam *in marg. sup.* C. 9. ipsi E. 10. ecclesiam seducunt tripliciter quidam *in marg. inf.* C. 11. quotidie CD; quotidie E. 12. est eucharistie est C. 13. deus verus CE. 14. sonat eis CE; *ib.* comodum C. 15. sed *in marg.* *add.* D. 16. 21-23. *after* subtiliant, naturam hostie supra panem non sacramentum sicut non subtiliant B; *pro* sacramentum, sacram C; consecratum DE. 17. nec *pro* non. 18. autem A; *ib.* baptismi sacramenti quidditas *in marg.* *sup.* C. 19. baptisantis D; *ib.* aliud ACE. 20. aliud A; *ib.* minimis ABCD; numinis E. 21. vel eorum aliquibus *deest* CE.

3. Breviarium Romanum. In Festo Corporis Christi, ad vespervas (Hymn. *Pange lingua*).

This
disagreement
shows their
gross ignorance
and
dissimulation.

Lucrē is the
cause of their
dissembling
thus, and
Christians
ought not to
sustain these
teachers of
tables and lies.

II. *False
miracles.*
Invented for
want of true
ones, they are
of three
principal sorts.
1. They say
that at each
consecration the
substance of
bread is
destroyed. This
is contrary to
the ancient
doctrine,

and implies the
horrible
blasphemy that
God annihilates
the bread.

multi cum signis suis seducunt ecclesiam, qui ignorant propria instrumenta. Revera Paulus propter infinitum minus malum simulacionem Petri in faciem sibi restitit, *quia reprehensibilis erat*, ut dicitur gal. secundo. Et patet vocatorum militum Cristi infidelis vecordia. Gal. II, 11

Cuius causa est quia querunt lucrum temporalium et non salutem sui vel subditi. sicut nec docendam fidei veritatem. Quod si Cristianus subtraheret bona sua a prelato infideli ut pagano. quanto magis ab infideliiori domestico plus nocivo! Ipse enim non docet fidem sed fabulas atque mendacia. nec ministrat sacramenta ecclesiastica sed venena, cum, stulto stulcius, ignorat quiditatem, virtutem et alias veritates sacramenti. Sine causa ita et injuste occupat bona ecclesie, cum cumulus temporalium prelatos infatuat et facit eos in debito officii sui mutescere. 15

Quantum ad secundum, patet consideranti dicta adversariorum subtiliancium in ista materia; quia ipsi F. propter defectum veri miraculi nefande subtiliant. Tres quidem sunt hereses in materia de eukaristia, quibus tota die nomen domini blasphematur. Dicunt enim pro magno miraculo quod ipsi cum deo conficiunt, quod, virtute benediccionis qua panis a deo bono benedicitur, ipse panis destruitur funditus ad non esse. Non sic autem sencierunt antiqui doctores catholici et leges ecclesie de bonitate dei, cum dicunt concorditer quod panis ille secundum nullam partem eius destruitur, sed virtute benediccionis | vere fit sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Doctor solemnns concedit quod manet post consecracionem panis aliquitas; ymo grossus decretista, glosator ordinarius, videtur dicere quod panis remanet, quamvis homines nesciant quo devenit. Omnes infideles horrerent istam crudelitatem irrationabilem posse com-

1. signis seducunt quidem *in marg. inf. C.* 3. malam CDE; *ib.* facie CD. 4. Gall. CE. 5. patet *deest A.* 6. et *deest D.* 9. vel *pro ut C.* 12. Ignorans non sacramenta sed venena ministrat *in marg. D.* 13. virtutes *pro* veritates C; veritates *corr. ex* virtutes D; *ib.* itaque CDE; 14. occupant A; *ib.* Temporalia infatuant et faciunt mutescere *in marg. sup. C.* 16. tertium B; *ib.* consideranti D. 17. quod ACDE. 18. neplandi D. 19. hereses tres *in marg. inf. C.* 23. et ad A; *ib.* prima *in marg. C.* 26. eius partem CE. 27. sit CDE; *ib.* sacramentaliter *in marg. C.* 28. solemnns E; doctor solemnns concedit *in marg. C.* doctor solemnns *in marg. D.* 29. aliquitas CD; aliqidditas E; *ib.* ymo CD; *ib.* decrecista A; decretista *in marg. C.* 32. horrent D; *ib.* posset D.

28. In *De Apostasia*, this admission of an 'aliquitas' of bread remaining is ascribed to Henry Goethals of Ghent (p. 75, l. 32). Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins* gives him the title of "Doctor solemnns". And Wyclif calls him so, in *De Ecclesia*, p. 317, l. 26.

petere deo bono. Nec sophisticandum est cum deo bono
 quod panis ille non destruitur, licet secundum se totum
 corrumpatur, sic quod nulla eius pars remanet in sui
 natura, nec in corpore Cristi, sed totum suum esse
 5 creatum tollitur. Revera Manicheus horreret concedere
 istud competere deo malo. Secunda blasfemia qua verbum
 false colitur est vocatum miraculum quo dicitur deum
 sapientem adducere vel commultiplicare totum numerum
 quantitatis continuitatis, vel figure corporis sui in celo
 10 ad omnem punctum Eukaristie; et tamen virtute verbi
 dei totum hoc fieri sine causa, cum nichil ibi informat
 sive quantificat: quia aliter foret corpus Cristi septi-
 pedale ad omnem punctum hostie, et quomocunque
 figuratum. Tercia blasfemia que in spiritum sanctum
 15 committitur stat in isto, quod omnes dotes corporis
 Cristi que sunt in celo et beatos reficiunt, sunt ad
 omnem punctum hostie, licet earum acciones a Deo
 benevolo sint suspense. Quamvis autem secundum Au-
 gustinum jam cessant miracula, tamen sacerdos symo-
 20 niacus, ut inquit, cottidie facit talia infinita.

Quantum ad tertium, patet quod intricant se ipsos
 et alios inconveniente multiplici. Se ipsos, quia inponunt
 eis heresim, qui dicunt eukaristiam naturaliter esse
 panem. Sic enim, ut inquit, mitigaretur devocio populi
 25 ad excellenciam sacramenti. Et tamen ipsimet profitentur
 concorditer quod illud sacramentum nec est corpus
 Cristi, nec potest esse pars Cristi, cum ipsum sit accidens.
 Et constat philosophis quod accidens est creatura abiectis-
 sima in natura: sic quod sacramentum altaris sit in-
 30 finitum imperfeccius sive indignius quam tela aranee,
 quam tantum luti, vel substantia aliqua assignanda.
 Et sic ubi alii fideles dicunt populo quod eukaristia in
 natura sua sit infinitum perfecior quam ista corpora,
 et accidentaliter infinitum perfecior quam quevis bestia,
 35 cum sit quodammodo corpus Cristi; ipsi dicunt in-

2. They say that Christ's body is present in every point of the Host to no purpose, since He does not give it quantity.

And 3. that all the qualities of Christ's body are there, as in Heaven, but miraculously inactive.

III. Great absurdities.

1. That the Sacrament is neither bread nor Christ's body; or if the latter, then the most abject of things is Christ's body.

2. totum sic B; totum in marg. add. D. 3. pars eius CE; ib. remanet deest B. 4. esse suum CDE. 5. competere deest A; ib. secunda blasfemia in marg. C; ib. contra pro qua C. 6. colligitur A; tollitur C. 7. dimensive in marg. C. 8. 10. punctum C. 9. 11. tertia blasfemia in marg. C; cave in marg. D. 12. 15, 16. Omnes dotes que sunt in celo corpus Cristi non sunt in sacramento in marg. D. 17, 18. a deo benivolo CDE. 19. benivolo A. 20. miracula cessant in marg. C. 21. 19, 20. simoniacus D. 22. quotidie C; quotidie E. 23. primum E. 24. ut in marg. add. D; ib. populo C. 25. ipsimet C; ipsimet corr. ex ipsomet E; ib. profiteantur B. 26. 30. imperfeccius C. 27. substantia deest A. 28. 32, 33. Eukaristia perfectior in natura et in accidentalibus in marg. inf. C; ib. sit in natura sua CDE.

Which
damnable
heresy
dishonours
Christ more
than our
doctrine.

honorabiliter omnino oppositum. Tantum ergo honorem tribuimus eukaristie ut ipsi attribuunt quovismodo, et infinitum maiorem inferioritatem vel dedecus ipsi sibi attribuunt quam fideles quos vocant hereticos. Iudicet ergo populus naturali ingenio inter illos. Revera, me 5 seminante tale dogma in populo, ipsi diffamarent me undique tamquam hereticum destruendum. Et cum ipsi in maiori dampnatione pertinaciter perseverent, patet quam patule obviant sibi ipsis.

2. That every
part of Christ's
Body has its
position in
every point of
the Host. So
Christ's head is
below his feet,
and his heart
outside and
skin inside, etc.

Secundo, dicunt quod posicio (que est differencia 10 quantitatis) est ad omnem punctum hostie concomitanter cum corpore Cristi; quia aliter omnia membra Cristi forent confuse sine ordine locata. Et sic inquit quod infima pars corporis Cristi in hostia est vertex capitis; sed suprema pars corporis Cristi in hostia, supra caput, 15 sunt pedes continuati cum tybiis. Intima eciam pars corporis Cristi in hostia, ut fingunt, est cutis cum ossibus loco cordis, sed extrema pars corporis Cristi sunt viscera cum spiritibus; sic quod nisi deus suspenderet continuacionem parcium, foret corpus Cristi ibi 20 monstruosissimum. Cum enim ibi sit posicio parcium (que est differencia quantitatis), oportet ipsos concedere caput Cristi esse ibi supra collum, sicut corpus Cristi est in ecclesia sub celo et supra terram. Nam definitive 25 est in loco, sicut modo est deitas et anima hominis. Conceditur esse supra se, quia secundum se totam est per situm supra quem est, ipsa anima secundum se totam: quod est evidencius de corpore Cristi in hostia, cum omnes partes eius locantur sic inferius atque superius. Nam discontinuatis partibus illius hostie, vel 30 sine motu locali, corpus Cristi foret totaliter sub et supra; ergo a pari, facta continuacione et multiplicacione corporis Cristi, ut modo. Ex quibus cum infinitis difficultatibus intricat hec secta se ipsam atque ecclesiam. Ulterius videtur concedendum vel relinquendum sub 35 dubio quod caput Cristi in hostia continuatur cum pedibus et quolibet eius pars quantitative cum qualibet.

Proof. As the
soul of man is
above his body
by its way of
existence,
Christ's Body,
existing in the
same way, is
above itself.

Were the Host
broken into an
upper and an
under part,
Christ's body
would be above
and below.

Whether
Christ's Body
in the Host is
a continuous
whole, seems
doubtful;

2—1. quovismodo — attribuunt *deest* A. 6. doema E. 9. quod
pro quam CE. 13. que A. 14, 15. est vertex capitis sed suprema
pars corporis Cristi hostia *deest* C; *ib.* pars corporis — pars corporis *in*
marg. inf. add. D. 15. capud E. 16. tibiis CDE; *ib.* eciam *deest* A.
18. extima A; *ib.* Cristi *deest* A. 19. nisi *in marg. add.* D. 22. que
pro que. 23. capud E. 24. in ecclesia est sic C; in ecclesia est E;
ib. definitive E. 25. sicud A; *ib.* non ABE; *corr.* E. 26. concedatur B;
ib. esse *deest* D. 29. sic locantur D. 30. discontaminatis A; *ib.* tamen
pro vel B. 32. multitudine CD. 34. intricaciones infer *in marg. sup.* C;
ib. ista D. 36. capud E. 37. quantitativa A; *ib.* quolibet A.

Nam quilibet talis pars est immediata cuilibet et est glutinatum et continuatum paratum; nec scitur quod deus suspendit actionem naturalem; ergo non est negandum simpliciter, quod quilibet talis pars continuatur

according to them whatever is most wonderful is to be believed.

11. 5 cuilibet. Et confirmatur ex fundamento istius sentencie. Nam deus posset hoc facere, et redundaret in difficultatem credendi ac mirabilitatem operum dei; ergo, ut arguunt in simili, catholice debet credi. Et confirmant infideles per hoc quod quidquid est inter labia et palata

10 oris hominis erit in ipso ore; sed omnia membra corporis Christi sic sunt inter palata capitis Christi et labia, ergo sunt in ore Christi et per idem ex omni parte eius concava. Et sic de infinitis inconvenientibus, que tam fideles quam infideles obiciunt.

15 Unde greci, qui usque hodie nobis fidelius secuntur fidem apostoli, conficiunt in magna quantitate panis, immiscentque hostie panem, oleum vel butirum; et die

34^b ieiunii vel non celebrant, | vel prope tempus quo ieiunando parce semel comedunt. Infideles autem deri-

The Greeks, consecrate loaves in large quantity, and avoid taking Communion on fast-days long before the meal.

20 dent clericos, quod sine fundacione introducunt novitates ad gravamen ecclesie, nec populum, manifeste ydolatrantes in heresi qua credit sacramentum esse corpus Christi ydemptice, revocant ab errore. Ideo, si aliqua secta ydolatrando et apostotando cadit in heresim, hoc

25 sic facit potissime ex consensu. Nec scit auffugere, quin sicut idem homo multiplicatus est supra se et sub se, dexter et sinister, ante et retro sibi ipsi; sic esset de corpore Christi in hostia. Quomodo, queso, staret homo multiplicatus super caput suum, iaceret in solario super

30 corpus suum, recubens in celario? et sic de aliis differentiis positis, capitis a loco; ut sicut talis veniret retro se, curreret ante se, foret dexter et sinister sibi ipsi; sic corpus Christi in hostia haberet ventrem ad dorsum, faciem ad occipud retro ipsum; et sic de in-

There is no escaping from this: a man, it multiplied, would be both above and below himself etc.: it is the same for Christ's Body.

1. cuilibet *in marg. add. D.* 2. glutinatum A. 3. quo A; igitur CE. 8. continuant C. 9. quicquid C; quicquid E. 10. n. oris — capitis *deest A.* 10. est *pro* erit CDE; *ib.* si *pro* sed CD. 11. sic sunt *deest C;* *ib.* pallata D. 12. in *pro* ex CDE. 13. iniquitibus A; *ib.* inconvenientia ex positione non fundata inter *in marg. sup. C.* 15. Greci conficiunt in magna quantitate *in marg. C;* *ib.* Cave *in marg. D;* *ib.* sequuntur CDE. 17. hodie *pro* hostie CDE. 18. non *deest A.* 19. prime AB; persone C; *pr* D; *ib.* simul ABC; semel DE. 21. populus idolatrans *in marg. C.* 22. credunt A. 24. hec ACDE. 25. Cave *in marg. D;* *ib.* aufugere CE. 26. sicut CDE. 27. et *deest CE.* 27-33. sic esset — sic corpus *in marg. inf. add. D.* 29. capud E. 30. cellario CE. 31. positus CD; *ib.* capitis AC; capitis E; *ib.* sicut CDE. 33. ventrem ad *in marg. add. D.* 34. caput A; occipud CE; accipud D.

finitis conclusionibus monstruosis. Ymmo, sicut canis comedit, ut inquit, corpus Cristi, sic sacerdos in penam penitencie combureret corpus Christi; et sic veritatem cremaret hereticus. Nec est ratio quod gradus positivus includat negacionem, ut fingitur, quin per idem omnis 5 positivus gradus vel terminus positivus; et sic neganda foret multiplicacio corporis Cristis in hostia.

Against all
sophisms, we
have two decrees
of the Church,
and many
words of the
Saints.

Satis ergo est tollere adversariorum sophismata contra antiquam sanctorum sententiam, licet non sit extranea superflue introducta, ut decretum *Ego Berengarius* mani- 10 feste dicit quod panis et vinum erunt post consecracionem tam sacramentum quam corpus Cristi et sanguis. Et idem dicit decretum beati Ambrosii de consecracione, dist. 2^a, cap. *Omnia quecumque*, cum quotlibet dictis sanctorum. 15

Objection. If
Christ's body is
not multiplied
and each Host
is His Body,
there is but one
Host or many
bodies.

Et videtur sequi, si hoc sacramentum est corpus Cristi I. tunc corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum; et sic quotlibet corpora forent corpus Cristi, vel non forent multe hostie consecrate. Hic autem audi vi responsionem triplicem. Prima negat hanc consequenciam: *hoc sacramentum est* 20 *corpus Cristi*: ergo, *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum*. Sicut, resolvendo sensum, non sequitur: *hoc sacramentum figurat sacramentaliter corpus Cristi*, ergo, *corpus figurat sacramentaliter istum panem*. Secunda responsio concedit consequenciam, et consequens quod debet aptari con- 25 sequenti iste sensus: *corpus Cristi est hoc sacramentum*, hoc est, *corpus Cristi figuratur per hoc sacramentum*: et sic corpus Cristi est quotlibet corpora separata, ad sensum conformem. Tercia responsio dicit quod duplex est corpus Cristi, scilicet in figura et in natura; et 30 sic Christus habet multa corpora in figura (ut loquitur beatus Jeronimus), sed nullum eorum est corpus Cristi quod naturaliter et personaliter actuatur per animam suam in celo, sed unum aliud corpus quod satis equivoce dicitur corpus Cristi. Ego autem, quia volui excutere 35

Three replies.
Either 1. to
deny the
consequence;

or 2. to admit
that Christ's
Body is each
Host
figuratively;

or 3. to say
that Christ has
a figurative as
well as a
natural body,
the first only
multipliable.

1. sicut D. 2. comedit deest C; in marg. E; ib. corpus deest D.
3. comburet C. 4. qua A. 6. Cave in marg. D. 8. igitur CE.
9. sit AD. 10. Berengarius D. 11. erant ACDE. 13. sanguis D.
16. Cristi deest A. 17. hoc deest ACDE. 18. after forent a word
effaced A. 19. enim A; corr. E; ib. audi vi in marg. add. C.
23. corpus cristi CDE. 24. responsio secunda D. 25. quia CDE.
26. iste in marg. A. 28. Cristi deest D. 30. Cristi deest A; ib. nu-
mero CDE. 33. actualiter C; tur in ras. E.

Joan. ista sophismata, declinavi ad logicam baptiste, dicentis
 II, 21 se non esse heliam, ut per hoc populus evitet hanc
 ydolatriam, quia credit panem sacramentum esse
 Act. ydemptice deum suum: sicut apostolus alloquitur athe-
 XVII, nenses act. 17. Et revera non magis fuit illa communitas
 25 ydolatrie dedita quam modo infidelitate oneratur ecclesia.
 Non igitur mirum si misse talium infidelium nocent
 ecclesie. Ideo fidelis theologus predicaret cum apostolo
 contra tales ydolattras, et pius laicus potius conduceret
 10 eos, ut non sic celebrent sive orent. Quia revera nec
 3 Reg. prophete baal, de quibus 3ⁱ Reg. 18 nec sacerdotes baal,
 XVIII, de quibus Daniel ultimo, fuerunt magis heretici ydolatre
 19 et quam tales sunt. Condescendendo ergo logice divine
 seq. que Matth. 5, concedit baptistam esse heliam, et Jer. 24,
 Dan. concedit Jesum nostrum esse David, cum aliis tropicis
 XIV, 2 locucionibus similibus, defendo contra sophistas per ali-
 et seq. quam istarum trium responsionum, et specialiter per
 Jer. XXIII, 5 terciam, veritatem.

Secunda via qua complices pape seminant de ipso
 20 blasphemiam est heresis in qua de ipso infundabiliter
 fingunt potenciam et indubie ut sic impetunt in Cristi
 veritatem tamquam anticristi discipuli. Sicut enim addendo
 ad pape Innocencii stulticiam de sacramento altaris intro-
 ducitur ydolatria per magnam partem ecclesie; sic colendo
 25 papam ut Cristi vicarium, vel secundum rationem falsam
 spiritualis potencie quam pretendunt, committitur plus
 detestanda atque blasfema ydolatria; quia honores
 divini attribuuntur membro luciferi, quod est ydolum
 detestabilius trunco picto, cum ipse non continet in se
 K. 30 tantam maliciam. Et hec ratio quare Petrus vocatus
 ad militem, non imperans ut miles sibi veniat, non

Wyclif prefers the latter, denying that Christ's natural body is in the Sacrament, because of the popular error, which is as rank idolatry as that of the Athenians and of the prophets and priests of Baal.

A second blasphemy of the Sects is the worship of the Pope as Christ's Vicar; which is worse than the adoration of a piece of wood.

1. declavari A; declinari CDE; *ib.* logicam baptiste amplexatus *in marg. sup. C.* 2. hec AC; *ib.* devitet CE. 3. sacratum *sed in marg. corr.*: sacramentum D; sacrum E. 4, 5. attenientes DE. 7. ergo D. 9. laycus E. 10. nec deest AB; *in marg. D.* 11. beel CE; *corr.* ex baal D. 13. sunt tales CDE; *ib.* condescendo C; *ib.* igitur CE. 14. quia A; *ib.* 20 A; XI CE; XII D. 15. alii C. 16. defendo A; defendēdo D. 16, 17. a^{caz} C; a^{ca} E. 17, 18. per terciam deest A. 19. contra complices C; contra *in marg. D*; delet E. 20. in deest CE; quam *pro* in qua D. 21. et deest A; *ib.* ut sic *in marg. A.* 22. sicut D. 23. ad deest E. 24. idolatria committitur nūdier *in marg. sup. C*; *ib.* ecclesie D; *ib.* sicut A. 25. pretendit CDE. 27. ydolatria atque blasfemia C; ydolatria atque blasfema ydolatria E. 29. in se non continet D.

1. In Wyclif's theory, John the Baptist being figuratively Elias, was really he; but he was right to deny it in the sense of being the very person of the prophet.

Fearing idolatry, Peter, Paul and Barnabas, refused to allow honours to be paid to them until the people were instructed.

But if the Pope exacts such honours to be paid to him personally, both he and his worshipper are guilty of idolatry.

The first thing is to disburden the Church from riches.

The wealthy among the clergy should acknowledge that the poor, if servants of God, ought to have wherewithal to serve Him. Wealth lessens, instead of increasing, the influence of the priesthood.

invenitur in aula regia sed in domo symonis leprosi IX, 43: coriarii iuxta aquam, ut patet Act. 10. Petrus autem X 6 venit humiliter, non equester cum sumptuosa familia, sed pedester. Quando autem Cornelius, procidens ad pedes Petri, oravit eum, dixit Petrus postquam elevavit eum: *Ego, inquit, ipse homo sum sicut et tu*. Et conformiter fecerunt Paulus et Barnabas, ut legitur act. 14. 35^a Quando autem noverunt populum in fide instructum Act. XIV. quomodo Cristus est caput totius ecclesie, et quomodo non debet honor impendi prelati eius, nisi de quanto 10 Cristo impenditur in membris suis, tunc susceperunt honorem humiliter cum timore. Quod si papa nesciat quod sit membrum ecclesie et tamen exigit fieri appropriate sibi, *ut sibi*, honores insolitos; quis dubitat quin sit blasphemus ydolatra, sicut et persona taliter cum 15 colens? quia secundum rationem falsam veritati (que Cristus est) contrariam, colit, ut sic, membrum luciferi; quia, si omnes prelati nostri respuerent blasphemos honores, bene esset ecclesie ab ydolatria expurgate. Quod non erit antequam exonerata fuerit mundi 20 divitiis. Et inferiores clerici habentes de divitiis, de decimis, vel aliis elemosinis ultra vite necessaria, recognoscant in superhabundantibus elemosinis et specialiter in decimis se esse procuratores pauperum non dominos. Ps. XXIII, Cum enim *domini est terra et plenitudo eius*, sequitur 1 demonstrative fidelibus, quod deus vult cuicunque servo suo de bonis suis dividi prout opus est serviendo deo debite ad implecionem sui officii: patet ex hoc quod aliter deus non esset primus paterfamilias summe iustus. Et illud principium consideraret prelatus, videns 30 quantum temporalium habundancia adauget sibi sacerdotis officium ultra apostolos; et equa lance notata videret, quomodo non auget sed minuit ministerium sacerdotis; per hoc enim magis mundo, voluptati et dominacioni intenditur et de officio quod Cristus exigit 35

1. leprosi *deest* ADE. 2. coriarii E. 3. venit *in marg. add.* D. 5. unde *pro* eum. 6. Ego enim A; *ib.* ipse inquit CE; *ib.* homo ipse D. 7. 18 CE. 9. capud C. 11. nescit papa si membrum ecclesie est *in marg.* C. 15. sicut DE. 17. est Cristus est D; *ib.* sit *pro* sic C. 18. quod *pro* quia ACDE; *ib.* nostri prelati CE; *ib.* blasphemos E. 19. dotacio *in marg.* C. 20. fuerit exonerata C; fuerit exonerata DE. 21. de divitiis *deest* ACDE. 22. elemosinis CDE. 23. habundantibus D. 24. procuratores A. 26. delive CE; *ib.* vnicuique CE. 27. dedi A; *ib.* luendo C. 28. quia CE; *corr.* ex quod D. 29. primus *deest* C. 30. consideraret D. 31. adauget BCD; *ib.* sibi *deest*. 32. ultra apostolos *in marg. add.* 33. videt C. 34. mundo magis E.

a suis prelatiſ subtrahitur. Ideo. ut ſepe dixi, particio
indebita bonorum fortune eſt precipua cauſa pertur-
bacioniſ eccleſie. Deus enim, cum ſit paterfamiliaſ ſumme
ſciens, providet domui ſue tantum de temporalibuſ quan-
tum eſt neceſſarium ad perficiendum ſerviciuſ quod
exigit a ſubdiſ. Repugnat enim perfeccioni dei quod in
iſto ſit ſuperfluuſ et diminutuſ; ſed occasione peccati
puniendi contingunt fameſ terre, ſterilitaſ, et alia penalia
in ewangelio nominata. Quod autem aliqui de Criſti familia
iſic egent, peccata et ſpecialiter avaricia ſunt in cauſa.

Inequality of
wealth iſ not
ordered by God,
but allowed aſ
the puniſhment
of ſin.

Deuſ enim wult quod ſeculareſ domini moderate
habundent temporalibuſ, ut poteſtative incuciant timorem
diſcolis contrariis legi Criſti. Wult eciam quod com-
munitaſ vivens de laboricio vel mercimonio mediocriter
poſſideat temporalia, quantum eſt neceſſarium. ut in
ſtatu illo debite deo ſerviatuſ. Ideo dicit Cryſoſtomuſ,
omelia 31 operiſ imperfecti, quod mercanteſ iniuſte non
ſunt Criſtiani, quia poſiti inter deum et mercandiam
affectuoſiur iurant pro mammona et ex infidelitate ex-
citant ementeſ ut iurent. Et ideo, relinquenteſ poſt
mortem ſubſtanciaſ queſitaſ mundo atque extraneis,
ſervant ſibi in cribro ſuperflua, ut petram. Ille autem
mercator eſt periculoſior et deo obieccioſ, qui emit
rem et ipſam integram vendit ultra valoreſ vel ne-
ceſſitatem ad officiuſ continuandum in miniſterio dei,
ut patet de mercantibuſ qui ſubito ſunt, vicioſe atque
ſuperflue, mundo diviteſ. Sed non video quin, ſicud
licet emere artificanda, ut artificiuſ vendatur debite, ſic
licet iuſte temporalia integra commutare.

Yet temporal
lordſ require to
have richeſ and
power.

And traderſ
may poſſeſſ a
moderate
competence, in
ſo far aſ their
ſtate needſ it.

Et deuſ wult tercio quod clerici inſtar ſui et apoſto-
loruſ ſtrictiſſime habeant de boniſ infimiſ, ut patet
Thy. 6., quantum eſt neceſſarium ad complendum ſuum

Thoſe
eſpecially who
charge too dear
become unjuſtly
rich.

I. Tim.
VI, 8

But the clergy
ſhould be quite
free from
unnecessary
wealth, ſource
of all evil;

1. ydolatra B. 1, 2. ydolatra particio C: indebita particio E: particio
idolatra bonorum fortune precipua cauſa perturbacioniſ eccleſie *in marg.*
ſup. C. 5. officiuſ CE: *ib.* ſerviciuſ *ſed in marg. corr.* officiuſ D.
6. enim pro ei A. 7. et deest B: vel CDE. 7, 8. peccata puniuntur *in*
marg. C. 8. peccata BCE. 11. wlt CD: *ib.* domini ſeculareſ *in marg.* C.
13. legiſ A. 13, 14. communitaſ *in marg.* C. 14. laboracio B. 16. deo
debite CE: deo *in marg. add.* D. 17, 18. mercanteſ iniuſte non ſunt
criſtiani *in marg. ſup.* D. 19. iurant B: *ib.* mamona AC: mamona DE.
20, 20. excident B. 21. conquiſitaſ CE: *corr.* ex que ſitaſ D.
21, 22. atque — cribro deest C. 2. peccata pro petram C: petram *ſed*
in marg.: peccata D: peccata *ſed in marg.*: petrum *deletum* E: *ib.* autem
deest B. 23. mercator periculoſior *in marg. ſup.* C. 27. quin *corr.* ex
quando E: *ib.* ſicut CDE. 28. rem artificiendam CDE: *ib.* debite ven-
datur C. 29. commutare E. 32. clerici ſtrictiſſime habent temporalia
in marg. inf. C. 32. thimo C: prima thimo D: prima thimo 6 E.

17. *Operiſ imperfecti.* A work aſcribed to Chryſoſtom but
probably written by an Arian; certainly not by him.

the infirm
amongst them
receiving alms
from the rich,
who need their
prayers.

officium; et superbia anticristi in isto est precipua causa perturbacionis ecclesie. Ex hoc enim aspirant ad honores mundanos, ex hoc torpescunt in officio sacerdotali quod Cristus instituit, et ex hoc veniunt fames multiplices et bella in populo. Infirmi autem et im-⁵ potentes debent vivere de decimis et aliis privatis elemosinis; sic quod mundo divites plus indigent illis ratione meriti quam e contra, ut docet Augustinus in *de verbis domini*, sermone 5^o; et illi per clerum precipue sunt fraudati. Ideo, ad tollendam symoniam et alios¹⁰ defectus ecclesie, nunquam erit sanata radicitus antequam a clero, reducto ad statum quem Cristus instituit, perfecte ablata fuerit causa morbi.

As a sign of
Christ's
dominion, all
ought to give
tithes; the poor,
spiritual tithes;
the rich, tithes
of their
substance.

In signum autem capitalis domini Jesu Cristi debent cuncti superhabundantes dare sibi in suis pauperibus¹⁵ redditus decimarum, et specialiter clerus superhabundans. Nam ex adinvencione humana sub Greg. 10 nunc tarde sunt clero perquisite decime, ut narravi superius. Sicut ergo deus est naturaliter dominus capitalis cunctorum in mundo conversancium; ita naturaliter debent sibi²⁰ dare redditus decimarum; egeni, spiritualem decimam, et superhabundantes in bonis infimis cum hoc dabunt signanter decimam bonorum fortune, cum deus sit dominus super universitatem creatam, sicut denarius excedit novenarium. Unde sub tempore legis nature²⁵ M. Abel et Cayn dederunt deo decimas, ut patet Genes. 4^{Gen.} sed quibus darentur | reliquit deus humano arbitrio, ^{IV, 3. 4} ^{35^b} docens naturaliter hoc principium quod dentur ad maiorem utilitatem ecclesie. Ideo in principio, quando nemo eguit illis decimis ad vescendum, cremabantur³⁰ decime, ut vel sic instruatur ecclesia caritative in deum ascendere. Nunc autem dabantur sacerdotibus et levitis tempore legis Mosayce; et nunc pauperibus, quibus naturaliter sunt debite, ut patet thob 1^o. ^{Tob.} ^{IV, 7}

As it was from
the beginning;
tithes, at first
burnt offerings,
were later given
to the priests
and to the poor.

5. Nota in marg. A. 5. 6. inpotentes A. 7. indiget B. 8. dicit B; *ib.* in *deest* ACDE. 9. et in marg. add. D. 10. sunt precipue CE; *ib.* simoniam D. 14. pauperes infirmi debent vivere de decimis in marg. D. 15. sibi *deest* A. 16. redditus CDE. 17. ex inadinvencione D; *ib.* sit pro nunc A; corr. D. 18. decime in marg. A; *ib.* superius narravi CE; *ib.* sicut CDE; *ib.* in marg.; scilicet in tractatu de simonia B. 19. igitur CE. 20. 21. dare sibi DE. 21. dari AB. 22. superhabundans A. 24. dominus *deest* D; *ib.* sicut CDE. 26. Caym B; Caym corr. ex Cain D. 27. reliquit D. 28. debetur A. 30. degit C. 30. 31. decime cremabantur aliquando quare in marg. C. 33. mosaice DE. 33. 34. decime naturaliter sunt debite pauperibus in marg. sup. C. 34. thobie CDE.

6. Aug. (Migne XXXVII, 215) seems to be the passage alluded to here.

Unde Augustinus in quadam epistola que sic incipit, *propicio Christo* ita scribit: "Decime, fratres, tributa sunt egencium animarum. Redde ergo tributa pauperibus, offer libamina sacerdotibus". Et sequitur: "decime", inquit, 5 "ex debito requiruntur; et qui eas reddere noluerit res alienas invadit; et quanti pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decimas non dante, fame mortui fuerint, tantorum homicidiorum reus ante tribunal eterni iudicis apparebit; quia rem a domino pauperibus delegatam suis 10 usibus reservavit. Qui igitur sibi aut premium comparere aut peccatorum desiderat indulgentiam promereri, redditis decimis, eciam de novem partibus studeat elemosinam dare; ita tamen ut quicquid excepto victu mediocri et vestitu rationabili superfuerit, non luxurie reservetur, 15 sed in thesauro celesti per elemosinam pauperum reponatur. Quidquid enim nobis deus plus quam opus est dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, sed per nos aliis erogandum transmisit. Si non dederimus, res alienas invadimus." Ecce hic testimonium predictę sententię.

20 Redeundo ergo patet ex dictis quod nec papa, nec prelatus ecclesię, sicut non haberet de temporalibus nisi titulo elemosine, quantum est necessarium ad ministerium quod Christus sibi instituit, sic nec honores hic debet suscipere, nisi quantum est necessarium, ut deus in 25 illo honorificetur a populo; et per consequens omnes mundanos honores debet aufugere; ymmo et quilibet secularis dominus, nisi de quanto est necessarium ut timeatur a populo ad coercendum rebelles legi Christi, ut tam ille quam ipsi ad iugum trahendum in curru 30 dei regularius reducantur.

Augustine's words: Tithes are a debt we owe to the poor, not a merit; if we will have merit, we must give of the other nine-tenths.

Thus, setting aside what is necessary for food and raiment, we can treasure up the rest as alms: God gave it us for that end alone.

No member of the Church, no secular lord, can have either riches, power, or honour, except for God's service in his state.

Si ergo, secundum Crysostomum, ommittenda est mercatio qua in alienis partibus emuntur integra, ut vendantur et integra, propter difficultatem atque peri-

Merchants are advised not to trade in foreign parts, on account of the difficulty of

2. ita *deest* D; *ib.* nota de decimis *in marg.* D. 3. tributa egencium decime *in marg.* C. 3. igitur CE. 5. requirunt CE. 6. *Cristi pro ubi* A. 8. homicidiorum reus *in marg.* C; *ib.* tribuales A. 9. paupibus C. 10. sibi igitur D; *ib.* aut *deest* D; *ib.* comparare ABCDE. 11. desyderat D. 12. de novem partibus *in marg.* C. 13. quidquid D; *ib.* ex precepto A; ex dicto B; *ib.* mediocriter CDE. 16. Quid A; Quidquid C; quidquid D; quicquid E. 17. non *deest* A. 18. erogandum DE. 18. 19. Si — invadimus *deest* CE. 20. igitur CE. 21. sicut CDE; *ib.* aut *pro* nisi A; in B. 22. titulo CDE. 23. Cristus *deest* C; *ib.* debet hic D. 23. 24. honores pro quanto susceperant prelati et domini *in marg. sup.* C. 26. aufugere CDE; *ib.* ymo E. 28. rebelles *deest* A; rebellem legi D; rebelles legi CE; coercere rebelles *in marg.* C. 29. illi D; *ib.* trahendi ABCD. 31. igitur CE. 32. mercatio periculosa quare *in marg.* C.

estimating fair
profits for their
trouble and
perils: how
much more
should the
clergy avoid all
worldly traffic!

Especially as
regard the
collation of
benefices,

wherein the
power of
prelates is
blasphemously
exaggerated,
contrary to the
practice of the
Apostles.

Nothing proves
better that they
lack this
spiritual power,
which God may
give to an
unknown
priest.

culum taxandi iustum valorem talis laboris sic mercantis
et vie periculum, ymmo taxacio continuacionis status
mercantis est sibi incognita propter eventus innumera-
biles causales. Multo magis clericus Cristi, et specialiter
sacerdos superior, debet cavere negociacionem ad peri- 5
culum sui et ecclesie magis ambiguum, vel statum
prosperitatis mundane in quo iacent anime ampliora
pericula. Primus enim mercator posset facilius iuste N.
exequi mercandiam talem ex integris quam prelati,
et sic habundare divitiis. Nam expressius prohibetur a 10
Cristo, plus retrahitur a cariori officio, et omnino
periculosius blasphematur in honore mundano per mer-
candiam sacerdotis quam per dictam laici mercandiam;
et omnino de periculo mundani honoris, gracia lucri
symoniace perquisiti, et summe de blasphema exaltacione 15
potestatis prelati propter collacionem symoniacam pre-
positure vel beneficii spiritualis.

Aliter enim numquam sic blasphemaretur de potestate
prelati, implicando quod plus potest in colacione talium
quam Petrus potuit sive Cristus. Sic quod patet sedule 20
attendenti quod maior pars blateratorum de potestate
prelati est heretica et blasphema. Nam quia potestas est
insensibilis, fingi poterit et ficcione mendaci seduci
populus. Apostoli autem non de magnitudine talis
potestatis contenderant, sed ad plus laborandum pro 25
edificacione ecclesie effectualiter secundum formam
ewangelii laborabant. Unde non potest quis patencius
ostendere se esse expertem talis potencie quam pompando
de tali potencia sine correspondente opere. Deus enim
non dat talem potestatem propter locum, propter tradi- 30
ciones elacionis humane vel propter famam vel appa-
renciam humane glorie, qua fingitur quod talis dominatur
toti mundo, tamquam frater domini et amicus. Sacerdos
enim mundo incognitus, qui similis sequitur Cristum
in moribus, habet potestatem regendi et edificandi eccle- 35

1. laborem AD; talem laborem *omnes* MSS. 2. ymo E. 6. atque CE.
6, 7 status prosperitatis mundane periculosus *in marg. inf.* C. 10. hun-
dare C. 12. blasphematur E; *ib.* homine A. 13. laici E. 16, 17. vel
prepositure beneficii A. 18. blasphemare D; *ib.* potestati C. 19. impli-
cando CD; *ib.* habet CE; *ib.* collacione CDE. 21. blaterarum AD.
22. prelati est *in marg. add.* D. 22, 23. potestas que insensibilis ideo
excusabilior videtur *in marg.* D. 23. et *deest* B; *ib.* mendacii B; *ib.* se-
ducti B. 24. aut A. 25. contenderent D. 27. posset ACDE;
gloriatio prelatorum de potestate causatur *in marg. sup.* C. 28. esse
deest AD. 30. propter locum *in marg. add.* D. 31. eleccionis CDE.
33. tamquam D. 34. cognitus C.

siam excellencius; quia non consistit regimen ecclesie in spoliacione et prefeccione complicum vel sacramentali seductione secundum traditiones humanas, sed in meritoria operatione et in humili exhortacione ad viandum conformiter legi Cristi. Sic quod melius foret ecclesie non esse papam vel prelatos huiusmodi; sed, abiecta tota tradicionem cesarea, sacerdotes pauperes docere nude et familiariter legem Cristi.

So that it were better if there were neither Pope nor prelates, only poor priests.

Et quantum ad evidencias, patet quod sunt tante ratione vacue quod blasphemus verecundaretur in presencia animalis irrationalis ipsas exponere. Nam ex illo Matth. 16, emungunt potissime fictam potestatem blasphemam: *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum et in celis* etc. Examination of the argument based on Christ's words to Peter: very weak.

36^a Sed cum beatus Jeronimus dixit: "Sacerdotes nostros ratione blasfemi intellectus istius verbi supercilium phariseorum induere"; notarent primo sensum dicti Cristi. Oportet enim subintelligere talem condicionem, *potestate* (scilicet clavium) *non errante*; quia, ut traditiones sue coguntur dicere, clavibus suis de valde possibili errantibus, nec solvunt nec ligant subditos suos quo ad deum, sed intricant se ipsos fingentes superficie tenus nodos vel dissolutiones nodorum. Et illa ficcio fingenti est nociva, et captivato est vel nociva vel impertinens quo ad deum. Notarent secundo, quod ipsi, ex sanctitate vite et imitatione morum sequendo Petrum similius, sunt illi quibus ex merito consonant dicta Petro. Si enim scolam humilitati et paupertati Cristi contrariam exercent, nullus sacerdos in mundo est magis a dicte potestatis participacione alienus. Cristus enim dixit,

1. Because the power of the keys would imply infallibility; to which they cannot pretend.

The Pope has as much right to claim the words said to Peter as to be called the light of the world: the right in both cases depends on personal holiness.

1. regimen ecclesie in quo consistit vñ attendetur in marg. sup. C. 2. et deest C; et pro in DE. 4. in deest E. 5. confiter C. 5-9. Sic — Et quantum deest A; in marg. D. 8. faciliter CE; ib. cristi legem C. 9. cautele A. 11. raciones C; rationalis BCD; irrationalis (ital. manu add.) E; ib. ipsa A; corr. D. 12. ptem C. 13. etc. deest CE. 15. racione deest C; ib. supersilium B; supercilium DE. 16. secundum dictum C. 18. clave errante non solvitur in marg. inf. C; ib. ut deest B. 20. possibilibus CE; corr. ex possibili D. 22. after ficcio a word effaced A. 23. est fingenti CDE; ib. et deest B; ib. captivacio BC; ib. noticia (prima vice) C. 23, 24. impertinens C. 25. mutacione corr. ex imitatione D; imitacio morum petri et apostolorum prelati indicitur in marg. sup. C. 26. petri corr. ex petro D. 28. exerceant C; ib. adiecte CD. 29. participio CE.

14. Jer. Comment. in Matth. l. III. c. XVI (Migne, t. 26, p. 122; p. 124 of Ben. edition). 20. As Wyclif here seems chiefly to allude to the dispensing power, which would of course require infallible knowledge to be always used rightly, he is exact in saying that Church traditions do not admit that infallibility. The Vatican Council itself proclaimed infallibility only for doctrinal decrees in matters of faith and morals, *not* for acts concerning Church discipline.

Matth. 5: *Vos estis lux mundi et sal terre*. Sed cum hoc stat in libertate arbitrii, si, dimittentes hanc sectam, declinant in viam diaboli, quid illis et privilegio dato Petro? Unde diabolus, sophista pessimus, seducit suos discipulos in consequenciarum ignoranciis: "Cristus talem 5 potestatem dedit Petro et ceteris apostolis", ergo illis.

Implicitly he asserts that whatever he does is right, and that he will be crowned in heaven at last, since this too was promised to Peter.

Words of Origen, bearing on the subject.

Unde, ut suggerunt, licet illis facere quecumque voluerint, quia pari evidencia sunt patres beatissimi, sessuri cum Cristo iudicando ecclesiam, et post perpetuo coronandi. Non enim est ratio diversitatis assignanda, quin 10 si sequitur: talem potestatem Petro contulit; ergo illis: per idem sequitur: talem gratiam iudicandi et regnandi cum Cristo Dominus contulit Petro: ergo et illis. Unde magnus doctor Origenes super eodem loco Matth. 16 sic loquitur: "Qui episcopatus vendicant locum, utuntur hoc 15 textu; sed bene dicunt de potestate, si opera illa habent propter que dictum est Petro, *Tu es Petrus*: ut super tales *edificetur ecclesia*. Alioquin ridiculum est ut dicamus eum qui vinculis peccatorum saorum est ligatus et trahit peccata sua sicut funem longum et tamquam iugulorum 20 vincula iniquitates suas, propter hoc solum quod episcopus dicitur habere huiusmodi potestatem. Sit ergo episcopus irreprehensibilis cum aliis 14^{cim} que dicit apostolus, et tunc solvit: propterea, *quecumque solvit* qui huiusmodi est *erunt soluta in celo*. Si enim fuerit quis, 25 ut ita dicam, Petrus et non habuerit que in hoc loco dicuntur ad Petrum, et putaverit se posse ligare et solvere, ipse se fallit, non intelligens voluntatem scripture et inflatus incidit in iudicium diaboli".

Let the Pope remember that all his power is but the niterance of God's

Hec doctor. Et ex istis expergisceret papa, con- 30 P. siderans 3^o similitudinem vite sue ad vitam Petri,

2. dimittens A. 3. declinat A; *ib.* diaboli DE; *ib.* et CDE. 4. diabolus E; diabolus sophista pessimus *in marg.* C. 5. petro *in marg.* add. D; *ib.* igitur C. 6. quomodocumque ACDE. 7. patres beatissimi etiam multi *in marg.* C; *ib.* sensuri A. 8. perpetuo *in marg.* add. D. 9. signanda omnes MSS. 10. contulit Petro D. 11. 12, 13. per — Unde deest A. 13. deus CDE; *ib.* petro contulit CE; *ib.* et deest CDE. 14. Nota Origenes *in marg.* A. 15. potestas solvendi quibus tradita sit *in marg.* sup. D. 17. petro deest D; *ib.* ut deest C. 18. episcopus quando non solvit secundum Origenem, ridiculose quando *in marg.* sup. C. 19. ligatus est CDE. 20. iuge lorum ACDE. 21. vinculo ACDE. 22. igitur E. 23. aliis corr. ex alii E. 24. solverit CDE. 27. dicuntur C. 27, 28. se ligare et solvere posse C. 28. vocem A. 29. diaboli DE. 30. et deest D; *ib.* expergisceret C; expergisceret corr. ex pergesceret D. 30, 31. consyderans D. 31. vocis B.

29. Origenes, Comment. in Matth. (Migne, t. XIII, series Graece, p. 1010; ed. Ben., p. 526). The quotation is probably from memory, as it varies much from the original.

et utrimque refrenaret inflatos pompantes, sciens ex fide quod correspondenter ad merita quo ad illum quem deus ante solvit vel ligat, papa est preco fidelis ecclesie, dum humiliter promulgat divinum iudicium; a quo
 5 discordans, sit preco patris mendacii, et presumens hec virtute sua fieri blasfemat in deum, tam se ipsum quam subditos seducendo. Quomodo, queso, haberet virtutem ad aperiendum et claudendum cuicumque voluerit portas celi, qui contra iniustos persequentes ipsum in propriis
 10 non sufficit, indignos a suis excludere, vel dignis suis carissimis portas proprias apperire? Aut quomodo daret quibus voluerit remissionem et indulgentiam "eciam ultra diem iudicii", et post, beatitudinem perpetuam angelorum, qui non habet a deo virtutem iudicium
 15 dampnationis proprie evadendi, vel pro abiectione sua in domo domini non habet potestatem a se ipso iram dei ac odium avertendi? vel ad contratam de qua dicit se habere plenum dominium quemquam regulum quem diligit promovendi? Cum enim omnis caritas debet in-
 20 cipere a se ipsa, stultus foret et ineptus minister dei, qui habens infinitum thesaurum dispensandum, assecurat alios de beatitudine per eius distribucionem largifluam, et tamen permittit animam suam perire perpetuo. Revera qui vel est ineptus vel negligens, ut partem tanti thesauri
 25 sibi recipiat, est valde ineptus ut constituatur super tot bona domini distribuenda quibuscumque voluerit; cum sit superbus minister luciferi, dedignans porcionem tam caram elemosyne sibi ipsi recipere.

Stultus, inquam, laicus qui confidit in tam abiecto, blasfemo, atque maniaco, dum libere possit merendo
 30 ad Christum accedere, tali detestando yppocrita postposito et deiecto. Nec propter verba sua blasfema erit melius aput deum; sed potius incredulitate vel consensu sue blasfemie contaminabitur aput deum.

sentence: it his own disagrees with it, he blasphemes.

Can he open the gates of Heaven, who has no earthly power against his persecutors or in favour of his friends?

Can he save and absolve others who may himself be a castaway, and cannot even set up a friendly prince in the land he claims to rule?

Having such treasures, why can he not apply them to himself?

A warning to laymen.

1. utrumque ABCE: *ib.* inflatos *in marg. add. D*; *ib.* pompantos A; pomponticos C; papaticos D; popaticos E. 2. ad merita absoluto promulgatur *in marg. inf. C*. 3. non pro vel A; *ib.* papa preco fidelis quando *in marg. C*. 4. in deest B. 5. papa multa non potest *in marg. sup. C*. 6. aperire DE. 7. ultra *in marg. corr. E*. 8. angelorum perpetuam DE. 9. prope A. 10. potatem C. 11. contractam *in marg. A*; contractam C; *ib.* de qua *corr. ex que D*. 12. indulgentias quare non daret papa *in marg. inf. C*. 13. ipso C; *ib.* ineptus negligens minister papa *in marg. inf. C*. 14. thesaurum DE; *ib.* et assecurat omnes MSS. A. 15. perie A. 16. thesauri DE. 17. quam pro sibi A. 18. cuicumque C. 19. porcionem *corr. ex percionem E*. 20. elemosyne deest A; care elemosine CDE; *ib.* recipere *in marg. add. D*. 21. laici et eciam religiosi periculose leconsentiunt ministro luciferi *in marg. sup. C*; laycus DE. 22. incredulitate CI).

A warning to
the Friars and
monks, who
persecute those
that spread
Gospel truth.

Et non obstante fide et spe habenda in Iesu, eciam in religiosis deletur caritas; et potestatem anticristi blasfeme paliant, ac contra seminantes veritatem ewangelicam | instant sophistice, vel patule persecuntur; sic 36^b
quod, dominante dolo, vocata ecclesia est plena blas- 5
femia. Nam sive religiosi proprietarii, sive angelus de
celo, consensit isti blasfemie, sive approbando, sive
tacendo vecorditer, gracia prosperitatis mundane, nisi
redeat ad partem Cristi eternis ignibus deputabitur.

3. psalliant B; palliant CDE; *ib.* et E. 4. sollicite ABC; *ib.* patulo C;
ib. persequuntur C; persecuntur *corr. ex* secuntur D. 5. dominate A.
6. sive *dēst* C; sive expropriarii sive angelus CDE. 7. concesserit C;
consenserit DE. 9. dampnabitur ACD; dabitur *in marg.* E.

CAPITULUM TERCIVM.

Sed scrutando radicem lapsus ecclesie, videtur quod eadem sit radix symonie, apostasie atque blasfemie. Nam radix sathane et scole anticristi videtur stare in illa persona que magis mendaciter simulat vices Cristi. Sunt autem huius scole principia, ex quibus secuntur conclusiones sathane, cum quibus populus est cecatus. Primum, videtur quod eo ipso quo quis eligitur in romanum pontificem, ipse est caput ecclesie totius militantis et summus vicarius Cristi in terris. Secundum principium: Quidquid concernens fidem ipse decreverit, ipsum est ut ewangelium acceptandum. Et 3^m principium est quod leges sue sunt plus quam ewangelium exequende. Ex ista triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite. Et licet scola anticristi supponat ista tria tamquam principia per se nota, tamen licet fideli notificando venenum arguere contra illa.

Contra primum: videtur quod sit notorie blasfemum mendacium. Nam factum docet multos tales fuisse capitales apostotas, ut hic supponitur: ergo, illud contra quod militat factum notorium est fallax principium ut sit metrum in omni accione morali totius praxis ecclesie. Item, nullus est talis Cristi vicarius, nisi habuerit supereminenciam virtutum. Sed blasfemum est dicere

Three principles stand at the root of this blasphemy: I. Every Bishop of Rôme is Christ's Vicar.

II. He is infallible in matters of faith; III. His laws are above the Gospel.

These Wyclif attacks.

Many Popes are, as a fact, apostates, not Christ's Vicars.

Christ's vicar must have great virtue, which neither

1. capitulum tercivm deest (margini numerus „3” rubro colore adscriptus est) C; nigro colore E. 2. radicem lapsus CDE. 3. radix symonie apostasie blasfemie C; symonie D. 4. populus E. 5. est populus E. 6. sequuntur C. 7. est populus E. 8. principia tria scole anticristi destruuntur in marg. sup. C. 9. capud E. 10. totius militantis ecclesie CE; post militantis in marg. repetitum est: ecclesie. 11. quicquid C; quicquid E. 12. decretum eius ut ewangelium in marg. C. 13. et deest ACDE. 14. leges eius ultra ewangelium in marg. C. 15. et pro ex C; ib. sequuntur C. 16. post ista scriptum erat: triplicitate secuntur blasfemie infinite sed totum deletum et in marg. add. est: tria D. 17. in deest B; ib. totius deest B.

1. For reasons stated in the Introduction, it has been considered unnecessary to continue the collation of the MSS. marked D and E any further than the beginning of the third chapter.

Christ nor his
electors give:
these, not
having it
themselves,

quod vel electores dant sibi talem gradum virtutum,
vel quod oportet deum sibi assistere sic donando; ergo
principium non est verum. Electores vero non habent
potestatem conferendi talem gradum sibi ipsis; quomodo
ergo conferrent hec dona extranee persone quam tam 5
contrariando elegerant? Unde diffinicio dei est Iac. ca^o I^o:
"Quod omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum
desursum est, descendens a patre luminum; in qua

Jac.
I, 17

and being
unable to
compel God by
their votes.

Even Christ's
election of
Iscaariot failed
to give him
such virtue:
how much less
any other!

donacione nullus communicat homo mendax. Et se-
cundum videtur nimis blasphemum quod electores regu- 10
lariter deum necessitant tantum dare: tunc enim essent
indubie plus quam deus. Item, deus non eo ipso assistit
electo per gratiam quo Cristum ipsum elegerit: sed
quelibet eleccio Cristi est infinitum melior quam eleccio
cardinalium vel romani populi, qui elegit Silvestrum; 15
ergo non oportet deum sic assistere cuicunque eleccioni
romani pontificis. Maior patet de eleccione Scarioth, quem
Cristus indubie virtuosius et sic melius elegit, quam
cardinales vel alii scirent eligere romanum pontificem.
Et patet minor ex supereminencia virtutis Christi a qua 20
cuncta sua opera processerunt, et ex fructu eleccionis
Scarioth, ut dicetur posterius. Locus autem civitatis
Rome est inpertinens sanctitati, ut patet in tractatu de
papa, et testatur scriptura 2 Mach. 5^o.

2. Mac.
V, 17

Every election
is null that
does not aim at
choosing one of
the elect; now
these aim only
at giving
worldly power.

Item, deitas in eleccione hominum ponit gradus, 25 B.
quia aliter foret ecclesia ordine destituta; sed nulla
eleccio electorum pape est valida, nisi de quanto
exemplata fuerit ab eleccione divina; ergo ipsi non
eligerent regulariter papas, ponendo eis imperium ponti-
ficum. Sicut enim sunt dispares in bonitate, ita videtur 30
(cum non sit potestas nisi a deo; ad Roma. 13^o),
quod sunt dispares in potestate. Si enim sunt presciti
esse membra diaboli, quomodo daret eis dominus pari-
tatem potestatis cum predestinatis quibus *dedit potestatem*
filios dei fieri? Periculosum itaque est blasfeme mentiri, 35
quod quilibet papa est paris potestatis cum Cristo
humanitus, cum Petro, et quolibet alio sancto papa.
Et patet minor argumenti, ex hoc quod oportet deum

Rom.
XIII, 1

Joan.
I, 12

5. igitur C. 6. Jacobi I. C. 12. assisteret B. 14. quam eleccio
deest C. 15. rōni A. 16. debet pro oportet C. 17. rōni A.
19. rōnū (et sic postea) A. 20. Christi deest A. 24. 2 deest A;
ib. Machabe² C. 25. eleccio AC. 26. ordinacione. 29. 30. potatum,
sed in marg. corr. pontificum C. 33. mēbⁿ A. 33. 34. potestatem A.

prevenire in omni accione laudabili vel illaudabili cuius-
cunque creature.

Item, foret blasphema presumpcio, in his que concernunt
salutem magni populi temere diffinire; sed sic est in
5 quacunque eleccione Romani pontificis, si non esset ad
hoc revelacio: ergo, sic eligere foret blasphema presumpcio.
Maior patet ex hoc quod blasphema foret presumpcio dare
homini medicinam ex qua verisimiliter vel probabiliter
crederetur quod ipse perderet vitam istam corpoream.

It is great
presumption to
decide on the
election of a
Pope without a
special
revelation;
greater than to
give a patient a
very dangerous
remedy:
for the fact of
the election
leads men to
believe that the
Pope is the
elect of God,
wrongly in
most cases.

10 Multo magis foret blasphemum mentiri sic de deo. Et
minor patet ex hoc quod, instituens quemquam in
Romanum pontificem dat magnam occasionem credendi
quod ipse sit precellenter electus dei, et quod suis
monitis regulariter est credendum. Istud autem fallit

15 ut plurimum. Ideo periculosum videtur seminare in

1. Cor. ecclesia tale mendacium. Non enim aptatur ad hoc
I. 27 regula dei dicentis in sancto apostolo primo Cor. 1^o:

Infirma mundi deus eligit, ut forcia queque confundat;

ut, inquam, ostendatur, non mundana prudencia, non

20 terrena potencia, sed divina, elegit deus apostolos ad

conquirendum sibi regnum ecclesie, ut confundat queque

terrena forcia tamquam inutilia ad hunc finem. Qui

autem innititur eligere plus mundi potentes, plus in

mundana sapiencia prepollentes, ut loco Cristi presint

25 ecclesie, contra Cristum innititur *terrene sapiencie, ani-*

mali et diabolice.

Jac.
III, 15 Item, eo ipso quo quis statuit quemquam capud

ecclesie, statuit eum predestinatum, cum solum talis

sit pars ecclesie, ut hic supponitur. Sed nimis blasphemum

30 esset electores statuere vel diffinire predestinacionem

huiusmodi: ergo et suum convertibile. Considerarent

37^a itaque electores | pape quam potestatem et fidem ne-

cessitantur fideles sibi tribuere, et cavendo de periculo

accionis improvide, expectarent revelacionem divinam

35 vel ommitterent super se huiusmodi onus cumulare. Sic

enim fecerunt capitales apostoli, act. 1^o, in elegendo

Mathiam apostolum; quod foret longe minus, quam

eligendo summum et simillimum Cristi vicarium. Eligere

As the Head of
the Church
must be of the
Elect, they can
no more choose
such a Head
than they can
predestinate
him;
they should
therefore
beware and
await a Divine
revelation, or
give up the
task.

5. in *pro* ad B.

10. multum B.

14. requiritur A; requiritur C.

15. quam *pro* ut C.

17. aplo'los 1^o A.

18. forciora B.

23. autem

deest AC.

24. ppoles A.

30. diffamare A.

31. generis *pro* ergo A;

igitur *pro* ergo C.

32, 33. nūcciat *sed in marg.*: necessitantur A; ne-

cessitant BC.

34. acconia A.

35. obmitterent C; *ib.* Sicut AB.

Not that it is
wrong for them
to choose the
best man as
Bishop of
Rome.

autem possunt homines episcopum civitatis romane quem
rite credunt plus habilem ad hoc ministerium. Sed
inponere sibi quod, eo ipso, sit caput tocius militantis
ecclesie, summus Cristi vicarius, videtur nimis magna
blasfemia. Moderni itaque prepositi didicerunt a patre
mendacii pompare in accumulato honore et pretensione
potestatis abscondite, sed defalcare de multitudine ope-
rationis fructifere.

This first
principle
destroyed, at
we once destroy
the other two,
and put three
others in their
place.

Mille sunt tales evidencie docentes quod primum prin-
cipium de scola anticristi sit mendacium plenum veneno, et
eius oppositum sit veritas proxima per se nota. Et
eadem est consideracio de aliis duobus principiis cum
conclusionibus ex ipsis sequentibus. Ideo sunt alia tria
principia catholice amplectenda. *Primum*: nullus viator
est aprior romano pontifice ut sit vicarius principalis

1. None is more
likely to be
Antichrist than
the Roman
Pontiff, having
such power to
deceive, set
himself above
Christ, and
defend his
crimes.

sathane et precipuus anticristus. Patet ex hoc quod ipse
potest faciliter fraudare ecclesiam in yppocrisi et omni
mendacio. Item, ipse potest plus calide se ipsum super
Cristum extollere; et talis, iuxta testimonium scripture,
est pronior ut sit maximus anticristus. Nam *rex super*
omnes filios superbie, et pater mendacii, aptavit sibi
talem vicarium qui false potestatem et dignitatem pom-
pando pretendit, ut indulgenciis et aliis cautelis plurem
plebem decipiat, et magistro suo in peccato similior
profundius ex post ruat. Et iterum nemo potest peccuniam
plus symoniace cumulare, et sic complices de secta
magog, pro defendendo suo facinore, lacius, diuturnius,
et sceleracius agregare; sed hec omnia testantur con-
ditiones maximas anticristi.

2. The Pope is
to be believed
only when his
words agree
with Scripture,
the standard of
our faith and
deeds, and the
treasure of
truth, to which
even Christ
recurred.

Secunda conclusio: Non est credendum romano pon-
tifici in materia fidei, nisi de quanto se fundaverit in
scriptura. Patet sic: In omni genere est unum principium,
quod est metrum et mensura omnium aliorum; et per
consequens, in genere faciendi vel credendi, standum
est ad tale principium, quod non est fingendum, nisi
scriptura, que est testimonium dei. Papa enim sepe
erravit in fide. Item, secundum Augustinum 2^o de doctrina

2. humilem A. 4. sumus A. 6. hore A: onere BC; ib. p̄fessione A.

9, 10. p^m pn^m A; p^m pn^m p̄cipiū B. 11. pxi^m A. 13. et ex A.
11. amplectanda B. 20. est deest B; ib. magnus A: maximus BC.
23. aliis etiam B. 25. profundius deest; zp^o A.

32. *Unum principium*. Arist. ed. Did. tome II, p. 307, l. 1.
37. Aug. *De Doctrina Christiana*, "Quidquid homo extra didicerit, si
noxium est, ibi damnatur; si utile, ibi invenitur" (Migne, CXXIV, p. 65).

D. *christiana* in fine, omnis veritas est in scriptura: non est credendum romano pontifici, nisi in veritate: ergo, non est credendum, nisi in scriptura, in qua est omnis fundacio veritatis. Item, Cristus summus pontifex fundavit se humanitus eciam contra diabolum in scriptura, ut patet Matth. 4. Et sic fecit in omnibus factis suis, ut patet discurrendo per ea que scripta sunt de illo. Qui ergo est Romanus pontifex, qui dedignatur fundare se in lege Domini vel scriptura, cum sit potissimum et dignissimum fundamentum? Si enim dedignatur se fundare in illa, dicens se habere potestatem interpretandi ipsam quomodocunque voluerit, et supplendi eius defectus, tunc blasfemat ut demonium meridianum. Et illud revocaret illum a condendis articulis fidei ut novis legibus sed debet illa a deo complete condita, tamquam servus humilis, declarare. Et cum debet usque ad sobrietatem sapere, debet humiliter in sancta ignorantia reticere; et idem est iudicium de tota ecclesia militante. Et patet impossibilitas secundi principii anticristi.

Tercia conclusio: Blasfemum foret papam vel alium plus credere, magis diligere vel exequi magis sollicite leges proprias, quam legem Cristi et dei. Patet ex hoc, quod lex ad legem se habet ut legifer ad legiferum. Sed blasfemum foret in istis equiparare pure creaturam creatori: ergo, blasfemum foret equiparare vel superaddere legem creature propriam legi dei. Voco autem legem creature propriam, quam statuit et nescit ipsam clare elicere ex scriptura. Item, proportionaliter ut quis diligit Cristum debet diligere eius legem; ut hic supponitur et alibi declaratum est. Sed cum omnis fidelis debet infinitum plus diligere Cristum quam aliquam pure creaturam, videtur quod proportionaliter debet diligere legem Cristi. Omnes, inquam, fatemur quod diligimus deum super omnia; sed dileccio legis dei iudicat veritatem. Item, proportionaliter ut affectus noster est ad aliquid, sic exequimur eius complecionem. Si affectus noster, ut dicimus, debet esse maxime in legem Christi, ergo debemus proportionaliter exequi eius complecionem. Omnes itaque dicimus deo illud Mt. 6^o:

Matth. IV, 1—11

Matth. VI, 10

The Pope ought not to disdain Scripture, and make articles of faith, but expound it humbly, or keep silence.

It is blasphemy to follow any man rather than Scripture, thus equalling a creature with the Creator, loving him more than Christ, and not doing God's will.

2. igitur C. 5. q̄ ecia^m A. 7—10. qui — enim *deest* A. 8. qui non *omnes* MSS. 12. libuerit BC. 14. vel C. 16. declarare *in marg.* C. 23. se habet *deest* B. 24, 25. blasphemum — ergo *deest* B. 28. clare A; clare elicere ipsam C. 35. sue *pro* dei A. 36. ad ali^q A; a'd C; *ib.* exe² A. 37—39. Si — complecionem *deest* A. 37. Sed *pro* si C; *ib.* circa *pro* in C.

Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra etc. Et cum, licet non faciamus quod sit voluntas dei, nisi in compleciónē legis sue, tamen in hoc torpemus tamquam deo degeneres. Et patet falsitas tercii principii anticristi.

It follows that the Orders, depending on the Pope's decree, and all such decrees not founded on Scripture, should be done away with;

that the clergy should obey no Church laws save those of Christ:

and that the good which may follow from the present system proves nothing in its favour.

If God's law is to be their standard of action, it can hardly be so more than verbally.

These errors are very dangerous, for they create

Ex istis tribus principiis potest fidelis colligere quod 5 omnes privati ordines, qui non habent aliud fundamentum quam determinacionem papalem, cessare debeant. Et per idem omnes determinaciones romani pontificis, que non sunt patenter elicibiles ex scriptura. Et patet quam levis est evidenciā: si romanus pontifex cum quotquot 10 episcopis decreverit quod eukaristia sit accidens sine subiecto, vel tales ordines | confirmaverit, ergo verum. 37^b Secundo, videtur quod totus clerus debet, dimissa soliditudine legum papalium, legi Cristi intendere, etsi dicatur quod totales huiusmodi sit lex Cristi; quia, cum 15 diabolus transfigurat se in angelum lucis, nec auctor legis dignatur fundare tradiciones suas in lege divina, ideo est pium et securum catholice quiescere in illis legibus que sunt patule in scriptura. Et patet 3^o ut sepe asserui, quod non est color, si ex istis tradicionibus 20 multa bona eveniunt, ergo sunt a fidelibus exequenda. Nam ex peccato primi angeli et primi hominis, ymmo ex quocunque malo, occasionaliter et per gratiam dei multa bona eveniunt. Ideo non est color, si ex privatis ordinibus et propriis legibus cum suis defensionibus 25 multa bona proveniunt, ergo non sunt iniuste. Ideo oportet ad legem Cristi, ut regulam directivam, attendere, et ipsis iuxta positis videre ipsas non in aliquo dissonare: quod videtur difficile, cum vel propter talia privata lege dei dimissa omnes eis afficimur vel, lege dei postposita, 30 nimis remisse eam exequimur. Et quomodocunque loquimur, factum nostrum et consciencia dictant ista implicite esse vera. Quis, inquam, religiosus non nimis appreciatur tradiciones privatas, ut in studio, in valore et observacione plus eis attendat, vel minus respiciat 35 legem Cristi? Et conformiter de studentibus alias leges hominum factum clamat istud, eciam negatum a nobis, quo ad conscienciam esse verum. Nec sunt dissimulandi errores predicti, quia continuata obliquitas a rectitudine

1. fiat C; *ib.* tamen *omnes* MSS. 2. faciamus quod non *omnes* MSS;
ib. fit C. 3. cum C. 4. tibi A. 12. igitur. 13. debet *deest* C.
15. tamen B. 16. nec *deest* A. 19. qui B. 20. sic *pro* sepe A.
21. igitur C. 30. afficiuntur AB; *ib.* ut *pro* vel AB. 32. deant A.
33. implicita AB. 38. diffilandi A. 39. obliq'sarant A.

- Cristi preparat ad ruinam. Religiones itaque private, et
affidaciones indurate sue regule, generant divisiones et
sectas proprietarias in ecclesia sancta dei. Ex hoc enim
querunt refuge que sua sunt, vel non querunt (vel nimis
F. 5 remisse) bona communia que sunt Cristi. Et patet fideli
quod affeccio proprietatis in homine interiori prepon-
derans sapit symoniam, apostasiam, blasphemiam, et
dampnabilitatem perpetuam; et per consequens sub-
versionem populi in ducibus qui traherent ad concordiam
10 legis dei. Si inquam totus populus foret unius secte
cristiane, tanquam vir unus, et tota sollicitudo discordie
versa foret ad studium concordie legis dei, quis dubitat
quin ecclesia foret concordior et disposicior ad amorem?
Ideo, ve illis qui auctorisant et seminant sectas tales!
15 Posset enim populus ad tempus tenere sectas momenta-
neas, sicut fecit apostolus act. 2^o; sed tota indignitas
consistit in dispositione indissolubili istorum rituum.
Per hoc enim equiparat blasphemus tradicionem suarum
observancias legi dei; quod deus non potest. Ideo videtur,
20 quod secte iste novelle sapiunt omnino blasphemiam, cum
repugnat sapiencie divine ordinare hos particulares ritus
cuicunque persone date secte perpetuo observandos.
Ideo deus legitur dedisse maximas, totum genus hominum
obligantes. Et quantum ad modos vivendi, cum possunt
25 et debent secundum personas, etates, et alias circum-
stancias quantumlibet variari, deus reliquit istam varia-
cionem prudencie humane. Quis ergo posset statuere
quod totum genus date secte debet sic vivere? Papa
enim non potest istud debitum statuere; sic nec potest
30 aptitudinem tocius secte future cognoscere.
- Sed contra istud arguitur per hoc quod necesse est
totam ecclesiam habere unum capitaneum conversantem;
cuius religio non staret, nisi sibi ut capiti obediret.

divisions, every
man seeking
his own
welfare;

whence comes
apostasy,
simony and
blasphemy.

Their laws
should not have
been made
perpetually
binding; God gives
commandments
binding all men
in general, but
leaves each man
free to choose
his way of life.

Objection: The
Church needs
a Head.
Answer: The
best Head is

3. sancta deest B. 4. refuge *corr.* ex refugere A; *ib.* minus; m^o A.
5. b^o ymo q̄ A; *ib.* ymmo *pro* communia A. 7. et blastemiam A.
15. *in marg.* nota B. 16. 20 C. 21. observandas A. 24. vivendi
deest BC. 27. igitur C. 31. *in marg.* obieccio B.

17. Wyclif, in *De Apostasia* (cap. I, p. 15, l. 33) understands the perpetuity of Papal confirmation of religious orders to mean "so long as God shall allow their existence"; which agrees with Clement VII's abolition of the Templars, and in later times, Clement XIV's dissolution of the Jesuits. It is curious that Wyclif does not allude to the first case. Though the Templars were not in the same category as the Friars, still the Pope's action in their case was a striking precedent.

Christ; all
others, unless
they bring men
to Him, are
hurtful.

It was expedient
even for Christ
to leave His
Apostles; so it
is better not to
have any visible
chief.

Besides, this is
an occasion of
schism in the
Church, and
ought to be
abolished; as
also all
hierarchical
dignities.

We are all
brethren, as
Christ says,
and should not
take other titles.

Hic dicitur, ut sepe alibi, quod sufficit cristianismum
Cristum habere conversantem secum ad tempus et postea
in celo ad dexteram dei patris residentem; quia cum
ista fuerit operacio spiritus sancti, credendum est quod
fuit aprior. Unde quicumque capitaneus militantis ecclesie 5
non prodest sed obest, nisi de quanto moverit suos
subditos ad ipsum in celestibus aspirare. Ideo ad istum
sensum dicit Joh. ewangelista cap. 17: *Expedi vobis ut* Joan.
ego radam. Et ista sententia dicta est in fine tractatus XVI, 7
de Apostasia. Sicut ergo est expedicius militanti ecclesie 10
quod Cristus sic ascenderit, quam quod semper cum
ecclesia militaret: sic foret expedicius quod tota ecclesia
militans aspiraret ad eum et reciperet ab eo inspira-
cionem fidei, quam quod constituat super se unum
capitaneum secundum legem maioritatis cesaree. Et si 15
aliquis haberet ex dono dei humiliter servire ecclesie,
non alte sapiat, nec querat preter domini dei eleccionem
humanam vel cartam aliam.

Item, omnis occasio scismatis, apostasie vel blasfemie G.
debet tolli ab ecclesia. Sed precipua occasio omnium 20
istorum est prelatorum graduacio humanitus adinvent-
a: ergo racionabiliter debet tolli. Minor argumenti patet
ex hoc quod ex hinc prelati querunt gloriam suam, non
gloriam domini Jesu Cristi, contra apostolum I. Cor. 10: 1 Cor.
Omnia in gloriam Cristi facite. Quis, inquam, prelatus ex X, 31
divisione | predicta non querit honorem suum humanum 25
eciam plus quam honorem Cristi? Vel ad minimum 38^a
dividitur cultus sive intensio honorandi propter gradua-
cionem istam adinventam. Facta ostendunt quod singuli
(quia omnes) quasi querunt gloriam suam. Ista enim est 30
occasio quare venit dissensio de qua loquitur apostolus
II. Thess. 2^o: ut patet de secta machometi et aliis. Si
enim essemus in reputacione omnes fratres, sicut
fuerunt apostoli, nec aliquis reputaretur maior, nisi ut
foret abscondite apud deum virtuosior, cessaret con- 35

1. cristianissimum; Xaniffm A. 2. postmodum BC. 4. fuerit *deest*
omnes MSS; *ib.* aprophanacio A. 5. milit^o A. 6. est *deest* AC.
10. Sic igitur C. 11. quod *deest* A. 13. in deum A. 22. igitur C.
23. per C. 24. apl'm Cor. 10 A. 26. mundanum BC. 28. intencio BC;
ib. horadi A. 29. adiuveniendam B; *ib.* facto AC. 30. qui *pro* quia C.
33. repugnacione A. 34. repugnaretur A.

10. De Apostasia, cap. XVII, p. 237, l. 15 et seq. 31. There
is (2 Thess. II, 3) mention of *discessio*, but none of *dissensio*;
nor is there anything approaching to that sense. Wyclif's copy
of the Vulgate may have had *dissensio*.

Matth.
XXIII, 8

tencionis elacio. Et ista videtur doctrina Cristi, Matt. 23^o:
Nolite, inquit, vocari rabi; unus enim est magister vester,
et omnes vos fratres estis, etc. Et istam sententiam
 pulcre declarat beatus Jeronimus cap. 18^a ad Ewandrum,
 5 ubi declarat primo ex fide scripture multiplicis, quod
 olim omnis sacerdos vel presbiter fuit episcopus, et e
 contra; 2^o declarat quod dyaconatus est inferior sacer-
 docio; et 3^o dicit quod diutina consuetudo vel humana
 ordinacio, licet mutet nomen, non potest tamen mutare
 10 officii dignitatem. "Quid", inquit, "profers michi unius
 urbis consuetudinem? quid paucitatem, de qua ortum
 est supercilium in leges ecclesie vendicas?" Si, inquam,
 consilium romanum ordinat dyacones suos cardinales et
 ut sic prestanciores aliis episcopis, quid hoc ad fidei
 15 veritatem? Unde conclusio huius sancti est quod qui-
 cunque, presbiter sive episcopus, precellunt in moribus,
 sunt maiores. Cum enim convertibiliter sequatur: *Petrus*
est maior quoad deum: igitur Petrus est maior; Deus
 autem non appreciatur adiacenciam temporalium, nisi
 20 forsitan reprobando: manifestum est quod quicumque fuerit
 H. maior in moribus est maior eo ipso. Unde Jeronimus,
 ubi supra: "Ubicumque", inquit, "fuerit episcopus, sive
 Rome sive alibi, eiusdem meriti eiusdemque sacerdotii
 potencia diviciarum et paupertatis humilitas vel subli-
 25 miorem vel inferiorem episcopum facit. Ceterum, omnes
 apostolorum successores sunt". Ideo, ut declarat eadem
 epistola, "primo indifferenter nominabantur presbiteri; sed
 quod postea unus electus est, qui ceteris preponeretur,
 in scismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque
 30 trahens ad se, ecclesiam Cristi rumperet". Unde in epist.
 ad Demetriadem, que sic incipit: *Omnibus divine scripture*
paginis evangelium antecellit, sic scribitur: "Ac dicis,
 supra Petrum fundatur ecclesia; licet id ipsum in alio

St. Jerome
says, writing of
the different
degrees in Holy
Orders, that
custom changes
nothing as to
faith;

that riches or
poverty may
make a bishop
higher or lower,
but all are
successors of
the Apostles;

and that,
though the
Church was
based upon the
Twelve, one
was set over
them to avoid
all schism.

2. est enim C. 3. omnes enim BC. 7. inferius omnes MSS.
 9. ordinacio deest C; ib. tamen deest A. 14. sint pro sic C; ib. alienis A.
 18. ergo C. 21. Jo9 A. 23. romane A sed in marg.: Rome.
 31. demet'and, A.

12. Hieronymus, Ep. Ad Evangelum. Migne, t. XXII, p. 1194
 (ed. Bened. 1083). 15. It is a remarkable fact that many
 bishops who are cardinals are so only under the title of deacons.
 As is known there are three classes in this Church dignity,
 bishops, priests, and deacons. A man who is only in Minor
 Orders may be a cardinal deacon, it being supposed that he intends
 taking Sacred Orders; should he marry, however, he loses his
 dignity. 32. Hieron. Migne, t. XXIII, pag. 279 (ed. Bened.).

loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni celorum accipiant, et ex equo super eos ecclesie fortitudo solidetur: tamen propterea inter 12^{cim} unus eligitur ut, capite constituto, scismatis tollatur occasio". Sic igitur sicut nomen est eversum in sacramento altaris, vocando 5 illud accidens sine subiecto; sic eversum est nomen, officium, et dignitas prelatorum. Deus enim ordinavit quod regulariter pauperior, humilior et servicior pro tollendo scismate foret maior. Sed diabolus, mundus, et caro dogmatisant quod fama populari celebrior, mundo 10 dicior et strepitu temporali potencior sit in ecclesia Cristi superior: et illud blasphemum mendacium confundit ecclesiam.

But everything is changed now: instead of humility, pride gives greatness in the Church.

And this is the cause of many blasphemies.

Item, propter talem principatum sunt prelati et eorum sententia plena blasfemia: igitur est rationabiliter sub- 15 trahenda. Antecedens patet de multiplicacione legum papalium, ut de eleccionibus, de provisionibus, et similibus, que sunt sepe manifeste contraria legi dei. Cum igitur ista causant principia pollitice conversacionis ecclesie, et "modicus error in principio sit causa pergrandis in fine"; 20 manifestum est quod oportet ex ista contrariacione a voluntate divina ecclesiam errare multipliciter in progressu. Et idem patet de indulgenciis, privilegiis et aliis blasfemiis patentibus vendicatis. Quoad leges adinventas, dictum est in tractatu de religione 2^o cap. Nam manifestum est 25 quod ewangelizantes et multo magis statuentes contrarium legi dei, ut ecclesia ipsum observet, sunt anathematizati.

Among others, of indulgences, and of new laws.

Ignorance is no excuse; and the Church will never be cured until delivered from this evil.

ut docet apostolus Gall. 1^o. Nec dubium quin omne Gal. 1, 8, 9 falsum vel irrationabile est preter ewangelium, quia illud sibi contrarium. Nec excusat ignorancia sic statuentes a 30 blasfemia, quia apostolus fuit blasfemus, putando se parare obsequium deo; ut patet Thimo. 1^o. Multo magis 1 Tim. 1, 13 qui gratis seminant leges ad regulandum ecclesiam que

2. quo *pro* equo omnes MSS. 3. XII C. 6. ipsum *pro* illud C: *ib.* est *deest* C. 8. *fmcōr* A: *servitivor(?)* B. 10. quo A. 11. populari A. 12. *mdam* A. 14. *pñafu* (*sic*) A. 18. sepe *deest* C: *ib.* *dei* A. 23. *blastemis* B: *blasfemiis* C. 23, 24. *blaffens* *poth* A. 24. *poth* C. 26. *scientes* A. 28. *glla* A. 26. est *deest* B: *ib.* aliud A: aliquid C. 27. ignoranciam C: *ib.* a *deest* C. 29. deo *deest* A.

20. Aristotle. Polit. V, c. 3 (ed. Di lot, vol. I, p. 568, l. 48). This *dictum* is very frequently quoted by Aquinas and other medieval authors in regard to philosophical truth; but Wyclif seems to employ it in much the same sense as Aristotle.

1. immediate obviant legi dei. Et pro ista sententia faciat
Crisostomus opere imperfecto, omelia 5, et declaratum
est in fine libri tercii. Nec unquam evacuabitur ab
ecclesia ista legum blasphemia, quamdiu ecclesia stat fedata
5 temporalibus, extra religionem quam Cristus instituit;
quia omnes tales satrape dicunt implicate quod sunt
sapientiores et in providencia meliores domino Jesu
Cristo. Ideo dicit Crisostomus: "Non", inquit, "potest
mens humana directicare quod sapientia divina dictabat.
10 Sic enim ait Salomon, proverb. 3o: *Non addas verbis*
Prov. XXX, 6 *dei nec detrahas vide.* Quis enim est ausus hec, facere
se sapientiore[m] quam putat deum?" O quam multi sunt
blasfemi isto anathemate innodati! quia omnes qui falsum
vel irrationabile statuunt, aut preter autoritatem scripture
15 pro sponse Cristi regimine.

- Debent igitur sacerdotes Cristi fragmenta panis scrip-
38^o ture | colligere, et panem venenosum extra eius formam
abicere; quia aliter non induunt forniam Cristi discipuli,
sed scelestissimi anticristi. Cum enim Cristus precepit
20 apostolis *colligere fragmenta, ne pereant*, ut patet Joh. 6.
Per quod notatur secundum sanctos, quod prepositi
ecclesie, gerentes vicem apostolorum, debent colligere
cum sollicitudine subtiles sensus in scriptura implicatos ad
pascendum ecclesiam; cum autem, secundum Augustinum.
25 in scriptura sit omnis veritas, ille prelatus nimis blasfeme
degenerat, qui, dimisso ignito verbo domini, intendit
pro pascendo populo verbis fallacibus adinventis. Nam
idem foret hoc facere, et extollendo anticristum supra
deum, Cristum deserere. Ideo. deuter. 14^o precipitur et
30 proverb. 3o^o repetitur quod *homo nec addat nec subtrahat*
verbis dei.

Priests should
feed Christ's
flock with
bread; not
poison; that
bread is
Scripture, in
which is all
truth: such
as do
otherwise are
blasphemers.

9. directicare A; *ib.* dictabit B. 11. detrahā A. 12. putat quam
omnes MSS. 24. enim pro autem omnes MSS. 25. sacra sit B.
26. igitur A. 27. populo deest A. 29. Cristum deest A; *ib.* 1^o B.
30. non AC.

10. The Vulgate has: *Ne addas quidquam verbis illius, et arguaris, inveniarisque mendax.*

CAPITULUM QUARTUM.

God, having placed man in this world only to serve Him and yearn towards Heaven, has given him to this end the example of the natural heaven, of the Sacrament, and of Christ's person.

Constat ex fide quomodo nedum in principio quod A. est verbum. deus creavit mundum (scilicet celum et terram, que inter omnia eius opera sunt maxime distancia tam naturaliter quam localiter). hominem autem cum 5 instrumentis suis posuit deus in medio, ut secundum amorem, qui est pondus anime, deo et celestibus constanter adhereat, et terrena, nisi de quanto sunt ad hec necessaria, religiose postponat. Unde omnis apostasia in declinatione ad temporalia est fundata. Deus autem, 10 sicut docuit in apostolo suo Jacobo precipuam partem ^{Jacob.} religionis sue esse hominem *se custodire immaculatum* 1, 27 *ab hoc seculo*: sic posuit. secundum evidenciam exempli triplicis. quomodo homo aspiraret religiose ad celestia. et apostasiam qua meus afficitur opacis terrestribus 15 declinaret. Primum est exemplum naturale quo deus ordinavit celum spere sublunari influere regendo inferiora. et secundum lucem ac tenebras cum aliis vicissitudinibus temporum alternari. Secundum est exemplum sacramentale, in quo deus posuit panem qui est basis 20 corporalis alimenti, ut figuret fidelibus et sit quodammodo corpus Cristi. Sed tertium exemplum est supernaturale. in quo deitas et humanitas sunt personaliter idem homo. Et omnes istos gradus deus instituit, ut revocet hominem a temporalibus ad eterna. 25

The error concerning the Sacrament argues a want of that unworldliness

Error autem in exemplo medio secundum generationem signa querencium prenosticat errorem in vita ecclesie. Omnes autem hereses, scilicet symonia, apostasia et blasfemia, fundantur in declinatione animi ad terrena.

1. Cap. 4^m in red ink AG; deest B. 2. quod deus C. 9. apoft^m A.
19. alternare C. 21. ut deest A.

7. *Pondus anime*. This beautiful and deeply philosophical definition of love is not, of Wyclif's invention. See St. Augustine, Confessions (Migne, t. XXXII, p. 848). Also t. XXXIII, p. 212, 213, 677).

Nemo enim vult inordinate commutare temporalia pro eternis, spiritualia pro temporalibus, nisi qui inordinate afficitur ad terrena, et per consequens non sine hoc committitur symonia. Et ita videtur obligacio, de quo

5 psal. 124^o: *Declinantes autem in obligationes adducet dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.* Et 2^o, nemo excedit

Ps. CXXIV. 5 limites Cristi religionis, nisi cuius animus nimis afficitur ad terrena. Ideo docet Jacobus, quia secunda pars religionis est hominem *se immaculatum custodire ab hoc* 10 *seculo.* Unde orat ecclesia, "ut sic transeamus per bona temporalia ut non amittamus eterna"; "ut deus doceat nos terrena despicere et amare celestia" et "ut terrenis affectionibus mitigatis facilius celestia capiamus".

which the words of the Church show should be our greatest desire.

B. Ex ista sententia ecclesie cum experientia et fide 15 scripture colligitur quod omnis heresis vel peccatum in militante ecclesia stat in libra in qua affectus ad temporalia et eterna. Appendiculum autem breve temporalium preponderatur, dum omnes querunt que sua sunt secundum rationem qua illis sunt propria, et non secundum

All heresies proceed from too great attachment to things temporal.

20 rationem qua sunt communia communis dominii Jesu Cristi. Et sic longum appendiculum eque libre quo affectus viatoris eterna respiceret non libratur. Ipsum enim brachium, propter carenciam ponderis quod fidelis in lance affectus acciperet, non curatur. Et tamen, sicut 25 celum est corpus supremum, latissimum, clarissimum et plenum influencia luminis et sanctis spiritibus, sic terra est corpus infimum, strictissimum, opacissimum et plenum corrupcionibus atque demonibus. Et hec creditur ratio quare diabolus tantum allicit hominem ad terrena.

We do not hold the balance equal; though Heaven and earth are not to be compared, the latter prevails.

30 Sophista enim, rationi contrarius et primus apostata, nititur ducere scolam suam ad metam blasfemie: quod fit, quando falsitati plus applauditur quam fructui veritatis. Unde diabolus, propter hoc quod suggit sanguinem

It is the devil's work.

5. after 124 dicitur C. 11. edoceat A. 12. cestia A. 14. Et pro ex A. 16. affectionis BC. 18. sua deest A. 20, 21. gnia dni chu X C. 24. accipiet A. 28. corporibus B; corrupcionis C. 33. suggerit A.

10. Brev. Rom. Coll. pro Dom. III post. Pent. 33. It is possible that these words may embody the superstition that devils drank the blood of witches:

"There's one come down to fetch his dues;
A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood."

(The Witch, by Middleton.)

But Wyclif, as usual, takes the mystic meaning and spiritualizes everything.

He is a leech,
hidden in
marshes of
corruption, and
has two
daughters:
hypocrisy and
tyranny.

But the Pope,
the Cardinals,
the Bishops, the
arch-deacons,
the officials,
the deans, the
rectors, the
priests, the
monks, the
friars, the door-
keepers and the
questors are
also of the race;
i. e. if they are
corrupt.

But how many
of the Church
officials live the
lives of the
Apostles? So
many are
Christ's
servants; the
others are the
adherents of
Antichrist.

ex spiritibus quibus letificarentur et alleviarentur *filii* ^{Ps. IV, 3}
hominum gravi corde, dicitur proverb. 3o sanguisuga. ^{Prov. XXX, 15}
Sanguisuge, inquit, *due sunt filie dicentes, affer, affer*.
Constat quidem quod ecclesia militans resultat ex po-
pularibus tamquam terra, ex mundi potentibus tamquam 5
lignis, et ex clericis tamquam herbis. Diabolus autem,
latens in paludibus vel locis putridis, habet de clericis
et mundi potentibus duas perversas filias, scilicet yppo-
critis et tyrannos. Cantus autem eorum precipuus est
scopare populum, spoliando ipsum temporalibus, dicendo 10
suis tyronibus: *affer affer*. Et sicut arbusta spinosa ac
herbe mortifere de terra germinant et per accidens
proficiunt, licet multum in particulari officiant; | sic 39^a
est de dictis yppocritis et tyrannis.

Sunt autem in clero duodecim filie sanguisuge cum 15
suis complicitibus: scilicet, papa, cardinales, episcopi,
archidiaconi, officiales, decani, rectores, presbiteri, mo-
nachi, fratres, ostiarii, et questores. Sed (quia granum et
palea possunt abscondi sub istis nominibus) ideo suppono
quod de pseudo-talibus fiat sermo, quod ex eo discerni 20
poterit quod de fastu et questu symoniace procreantur.
Non enim licet nominare vel acceptare officium cleri C.
in ecclesia, nisi de quanto in lege Cristi fuerit appro-
batus; sed necesse est ut diabolus, onerans ecclesiam
cum ritibus et temporalibus, oneret eam etiam cum suis 25
officiariis, qui blasfeme spolient pauperes et simplices
matris ecclesie. Consideremus ergo statum expropriarium
statui innocencie simillimum, quem Cristus vixit et docuit
suos apostolos laborando spiritualiter observare; et
consideremus, quot officarii in clero sic laborando 30
retinent istum statum. Et tot sunt fideles servi Cristi.
Alii autem sunt complices anticristi; et servata ista
sententia, non oneraretur ecclesia cum raptoribus et
discolis dissipantibus scolam Cristi. Quicunque enim,
pensato suo ministerio per se edificativo ecclesie, ipsam 35
alleviat, non onustat; et ipsam secundum viam virtutum
trahit ad celestia, non deprimit ad terrena: omnis, in-
quam, talis est fidelis servus Cristi et adiutor domini,
ac penna columbe, que ipsam transvehat per mare huius

I. et omnes MSS.; ib. litificaretur A. 2. 3^a A. 5. potentatibus BC.
II. suis *deest* A. 21. procurantur C. 22. acceptare *deest* C. 24. est
deest A; ib. onerans ecciam C. 28. falsissimum A; simillimum *pro*
falsissimum C. 35. edificative AB; edificacio C. 38. Christ *deest* BC.

seculi ad eterna. Et phariseus condicionis opposite est servus dampnabilis, proditor sponse Cristi.

The false Pope can be known by his attachment to earthly things.

The endowment of the Church by Constantine, accepted by St. Sylvester, was a great calamity and contrary to the spirit of the Fathers.

Augustine quoted: to disinherit a son in favour of the Church is not allowable; legally right, it would be morally wrong.

Either Augustine would have been against such endowment, or inconsistent; if not the latter, all good Bishops ought now to side with him.

Et patet quomodo pseudopapa discernitur a fidei. Si enim querit que sua sunt, detrahens subditos suos
 5 peccati pondere ad infernum, quis dubitat quin terrenorum cupiditas ipsum faciat anticristum? Primum autem venenum notabile post Cristum effusum in ecclesia dicitur ortum ex dotacione romani pontificis, sub Constantino cesare et Silvestro, de qua dist. 96, *Con-*
 10 *stantinus imperator*. Primo autem blasphematur, extollendo Silvestrum super omne quod dicitur deus, quod non potuit peccare, sic recipiendo dotacionem ecclesie. Quod est contra decretum Cipriani, positum dist. 8. "Si solus," inquit, "Cristus audiendus est, non debemus attendere
 15 quod alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid qui ante nos omnes est, Cristus, prior fecerit." Et idem sentenciat Augustinus in sermone *de vita clericorum*, posito 17^a quest. 4 ca^o ultimo sub his verbis: "Quicumque vult, exhereditato filio, heredem facere ecclesiam, querat
 20 alium qui suscipiat, non Augustinum: ymmo, deo propicio, neminem inveniet. Quam laudabile fuit factum sancti Aurelii cartaginiensis episcopi! Quidam enim, dum filios non haberet, nec speraret, res suas omnes, retento sibi usufructu, donavit ecclesie. Nati sunt ei filii:
 25 reddidit ei episcopus omnia; nec opinanti ea, que illi donaverat in potestate habebat episcopus non reddere, sed iure fori, non iure poli."

D. Ecce primo quomodo sancti horruerant, quando parum lapsi sunt a Cristi pauperie, quod super ipsos cumuletur
 30 lapsus gravior. Et indubie vel oportet dicere quod Augustinus in hoc dicto dissensit tali dotacioni, et imprecatus fuit non fore aliquam in futurum, vel quod tamquam infidelis in ista lege dissipuit. Sed retento primo membro, patet evidencius quod sancti prelati tenerent hodie
 35 eandem sentenciam. Nunc enim est ecclesia plus temporalibus inviscata, et inpetracionibus subdole plus sunt invente.

9. quo C. 9. 10. Constancius C. 17. Augustinus *in marg.* A.
 18. *in marg.* nota B. 22. catha C. 23. nec speraret *deest* A.
 24. usu fructuum B. 25. omo C. 26. donaverit B. 33. depuit A;
 desipuit C. 34. plati A. 35. istam *pro* eandem C; *ib.* ecclesie A.
 36. inpetraciones plus subdole C. 37. invete A.

10. Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars. Dist. XCVI. c. 13. 16. Decr. Grat.
 1^a Pars. Dist. VIII. c. 9. 18. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars. Cons. XVII,
 qu. 4, c. 43.

Both Pope and monks ought to have refused endowments, and should give them up.

Aurelius' conduct is an example to our Bishops; what he did was his duty, not before the law, but before God.

It is no use saying that in his case there were tacit conditions; for the successors of those who gave the endowments live now; so the case is the same.

And these endowments weaken the secular power:

which, according to Isidore, is a necessary supplement of Church authority.

Ex quibus colligitur quod nec pontifices nec claustrales eligerent dotacionem huiusmodi; sed fatue susceptam resignarent in manibus secularium dominorum. Sic enim recte fecit beatus Aurelius episcopus, qui fuit propterea ab Augustino merito comendatus. Nec valet dicere quod illud fuit opus supererogacionis, ad quod prelati nostri non hodie sunt asstricti; quia hodie imminet maior necessitas, et prelati debent esse in hoc ita perfecti sicut fuit Aurelius. Aliter enim licet eis quantumcunque irregulose vivere, propter istam *excusacionem in peccato*.¹⁰ Similiter, episcopus habuit reddere *iure poli*, ut dicit Augustinus, et per consequens iure dei qui dictavit ipsum debere reddere. Sic enim voluit Augustinus: ut recitat de eo beatus Possidonius.

Nec valet 2^a *excusacio in peccato*, qua dicitur quod secularis memoratus intelexit condicionem tacitam in casu quo non habuit filios vel heredes; quia per idem in omni dotacione subintelligi debet talis condicio: et omnino quod deo sit placitum. Cum igitur supersunt filii imperatorum, regum et secularium dominorum, videtur quod clerus dotatus debet reddere *iure poli*. Item, ex ordinacione divina ecclesia debet constare ex mundi potentibus, ad quos necessaria est temporalis possessio. Sed hoc clerus possessionatus nititur extinguere opere vel consensu; ergo, ut sic, resistit ordinacioni divine.²⁵ Assumptum patet, romanorum 13, et sepe alibi; ymmo ex dicto Ysidori, posito 23 q. 5. ca^o *principes*. Et minor argumenti patet, notando omnes possessiones que sunt in manu pape et cleri, ac quanta foret secularis potestas illis dominiis correspondens, que exhinc de ecclesia tollitur, et in occupacionibus exhinc deterioratis nomen domini blasphematur. Nec dubium quin hoc perpetratur consensu cleri, ad hoc multipliciter procurantis. Et cum hoc fit instinctu diaboli deteriorantis brachiumulare et dampnificantis ecclesiam, manifestum est quod potentes debent in isto potestative resistere. Ad hoc enim E. portant gladium, secundum apostolum. Et testatur Ysidorus ubi supra. "Intra Ecclesiam," inquit, "potestates necessarie non essent, nisi ut, quod non prevalent sacerdotes efficere

3. restituerent C. 12. ius qui A. 14. possidanius A; possideus C.
20. imperatoris C. 23. potentantibus A. 25. igitur C. 30. dominis B.
31. occupantibus C. 32. perpetrat AB. 38. necesse. Eccie pro intra
ecclesiam A. 39. ut deest AC.

per doctrine sermonem. potestas hoc imperet per discipline terrorem. Sepe per regnum terrenum celeste regnum perficit, ut qui, intra ecclesiam positi, contra fidem et disciplinam agunt, rigore principum terreantur".
 5 Quare ergo non exercent hunc gladium ad hoc sibi datum a deo, ut compellant yppocritas intrare religionem Christi quam false profitentur? "Cognoscant," inquit Ysidorus, "principes seculi deo se debere rationem, reddituros esse etiam propter ecclesiam quam a Christo tuendam
 10 suscipiunt. Nam sive augeatur pax et disciplina in ecclesia per fideles principes, sive solvatur, ille ab eis rationem exigit, qui eorum potestati suam ecclesiam creditit".

Quam, quero, rationem reddent deo seculares domini, qui propter sanguinem, pecuniam vel desidiam, per-
 15 mittunt yppocritas. ymmo, cum suis conducunt, perdere Christum et suam ecclesiam? Nam per dotaciones cecas symonia, apostasia et blasfemia sustentantur; et per consequens, irato domino, bella, dissensiones et infidelitates alie sustentantur. Cum enim oportet deum dare pacem
 20 et caritatem hominibus, si eis infuerit; homines autem illi adversantur blasfeme ordinacioni divine ineptando clerum contra Christi monita, ut sit mundo plus deditus, quomodo transfunderet deus per clerum huiusmodi concordiam et amorem? Quin potius, iuxta beatum Gre-
 25 gorium, deus, aliunde placatus populo, subtraheret exhinc ab eis spirituale suffragium. Istam igitur cecam pietatem (quin potius gravem stulticiam) portabunt principes, cum presumptuose contraveniendo ordinacioni divine privant se cleri suffragio, et, quod plus est, ut sic, multi-
 30 pliciter perturbant rem publicam, tam temporalia quam spiritualia blasfeme et improvide dispensando, ex quo tamquam calendis diaboli causatur dissensio. Servitium enim factum diabolo est maxime difficile et sumptuosum, maxime intricabile et onerosum, ac per consequens
 35 maxime carens retribucione laudabili, cum sit deo et nature contrarium.

Hec est pars mundi potencium ex pietate proditoria cum bonis dei conspirantium contra Christum: et de numero blasfemiarum que fiunt ratione potestatis secularis in clero, difficile est narrare. Ex hinc enim blas-

A most severe account will be exacted of secular lords, who, for interested motives or through mistaken piety, allow or even favour such evils.

They pervert the clergy; thence comes want of charity and lack of God's grace, great dissensions and wars; all through their folly.

For they are responsible for the blasphemies concerning the 'patrimony of the Crucified'.

3. regnum *deest* A. 5. igitur C. 6. expellant B. 9. etiam AC.
 10. disciplina ecclesia C; *ib.* ecclesie *pro* in ecclesia B. 13. deo reddent C.
 14. segnicium A. 15. conducunt *struck out* B. 16. ceteras AC.
 17-10. et — sustentantur *deest* A. 19. suscitantur C. 23. clerus C.
 27. verius BC. 28. sumtuose AB. 29. seculi *pro* cleri A.

femant in Cristum, menciesentes quod ipse dominatus
 fuit civiliter, et vixit seculariter. In cuius signum vocant
 totum questum cleri "patrimonium crucifixi". Secundo F.
 blasfemant de papa et aliis prelatiſ cesareis, menciesentes
 quod iure generacionis Cristi debent summe seculariter
 dominari. Et tercio blasfemant in vendicando potestatem
 spiritualem Cristi, menciesentes quod habeant potestatem
 excommunicandi, absolvendi, dispensandi, indulgendi et
 abscondite transmutandi, ultra hoc quod ratione vel
 scriptura sciunt ostendere, vel Cristo debere competere. 10
 Et tandem blasfemant quod sunt fratres et amici Cristi.
 tanquam iuramento vel pacto cum eo confederati; quod
 quicquid pretenderint se facere in nomine Cristi, illud
 faciunt eo ipso. Et hinc volant blasfemie de innumera-
 bilibus milibus annorum, quibus fingitur stulte ipsos 15
 a pena et a culpa absolvere. Sed si plus elongantur a
 Cristi in modo vivendi, servando eius precepta et con-
 silia, quid illis et generacioni Cristi salvande? Sicut
 enim secundum legem mundanam, requiritur carnalis
 generacio ad successionem hereditariam, ita secundam 20
 legem divinam requiritur ad spiritualem generacionem
 filiorum dei, successio hereditaria quoad mores Cristi,
 quem oportet filios suos proxime generare. Et ita
 cecatur generacio signa querencium, quod plus atten-
 dunt ad leges humanas, quibus prelatus mundanus 25
 instituitur, quam ad conformitatem operum quibus scola
 Cristi mandat credere. Signum autem evidens est quod
 tales prelati sunt anticristi discipuli, si non amant do-
 minum Jesum Cristum sequendo eum in moribus, sed
 pompant de potestate sua quam deus non revelavit. 30
 Cristus enim vult nec se ipsum nec apostolos suos, nisi
 mediante revelacione, detegere huiusmodi potestatem.
 Nam, ut *data est sibi omnis potestas*, sic debet ad ipsum
 referri, et cristiani humile ministerium publicari. Unde
 sterilitas fructus potestatis huiusmodi signum est quod 35
 ypocrite blasfemant de potestate Cristi, quia si adesset
 operaretur magna. tam in prelatiſ quam in populo; cum

1. menciesentes A. 3. petrocinium A. 4. menciesentes A. 6. ven-
 dendo A. 11. tamen *omnes MSS*; *ib.* fratres A. 12. tantum *pro* tamquam
omnes MSS. 14. hic B; huic A. 18. sicud AC. 19. humanam C;
ib. car^ulis A. 36. ipe A.

5. Christ being of royal blood. 32. Allusion to Christ's
 words: *Beatus es, Simon Bar-jona; quia caro et sanguis non
 revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus qui in coelis est.*

potestas apostolorum moderate contenta fructifere pullulavit. Potestas ergo de qua se pompant non excedit
 40^a potestatem luciferi, qui non in tanta yppocrisi et | illusione pape *similitudinem altissimo* simulavit. Pauci enim
 5 steterunt in hac evidenciori similitudine diaboli; nec fumus sue blasfeme superbie in opinione tam peccantium quam seductorum tam diutine ascendebat.

while their power more nearly resembles that of Lucifer.

Item. Cristus precepit apostolis suis doctrina multiplici nec diligere mundum nec mundalia; sed yppocrite, fin-
 10 gentes se esse Cristi vicarios, hec diligunt excessive. Ergo, cum sit tantum contra doctrinam et mandata Cristi, sequitur quod sunt discipuli anticristi. Sunt yppocrite
 multipliciter mendaces, simulantes falsitatem contrariam
 Joan. XV, 10 veritati. Et assumptum argumenti patet Joh. 15. *Quia*
 15 *vero de mundo non estis, sed ego elegi vos de mundo, propterea odit vos mundus. Mementote sermonis mei, quem ego dixi vobis: Non est servus maior domino suo.* Et eadem sententia exprimitur Joh. 2. Joh. 18 et Thi. 6. Et
 Luc. XIV, 33 iterum Luc. 14 sic concludit: *Sic omnis ex vobis, qui non*
 G. 20 *renunciaverit omnibus que possidet, non potest esse meus discipulus;* ubi non dubium quin loquitur de renunciacione civili; primo, quia debuerunt renunciare in seculo omnibus terrenis secundum preponderantem affectionem. Ille ergo qui elegit iustos cognatos de mundo, intendebat
 25 quod plus renunciarent seculo quam homines temporales. Similiter, ut Augustinus notat, apostoli et vicarii Cristi
 Job XI, 1, 2 debent singulariter comittere bellum adversus *regem super omnes filios superbie*; qui, cum sit princeps mundi, habet
 20 milia bellancium contra Cristum; hoc est, universitatem temporalium ex prevaricancia duplicancium contra denarium mandatorum. Quis ergo singulariter sic agonisans contra diabolum indisponeret se inviscatus in rethi diaboli? Quin potius, sedens in fide filii, computat omnes sumptus, orando, contemplando et exhortando? Illi enim sumptus sunt necessarii ad expugnandum diabolum. Etsi Cristi vicarius non comisceat se cum mundo, tamen tota cogitacio, tota intencio, et tota

Christ's precepts are formal; absolute unworldliness and renunciation of earthly possessions for all; much more for his Apostles;

it is impossible otherwise to conquer the king of pride:

1. 2. pululavit C. 2. igitur C; *ib.* sepe C. 5. fletu'nt AC.
 7. ostendebant C. 11. igitur C. 12. sunt enim B. 14. veritatem A.
 18. 1 Thym. B. 20. que pos. n. p. 66 m. A. 21. quod A; *deest* B.
 24. igitur C; *ib.* in A. 25. renunciaret C. 29. millia C. 31. igitur C.
 32. sic agonisando BC; *ib.* se *deest* A. 33, 34. computat sumptus C.
 36, 37. comisceat se mundo C. 37. se *in* mar. A.

Even if we strain every nerve, the victory is hard to win.

Christ's deeds are no less formal: and deeds are of more weight than words. He had not where to lay His head.

Reason and faith agree in this: riches are good only in so far as they help heavenward, which superfluity cannot do: food and raiment should be enough for us.

affeccio hominis distracta a mundo vix sufficit complere istam victoriam. Ideo signantissime concludit Cristus singulariter de suis discipulis: *Sic omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus*. Et patet quam multi episcopi mendaciter simulant se esse Cristi discipulos, qui nec sunt sacerdotes nec clerici, sed ex simulata iniquitate duplici capitalia membra patris mendacii.

3^o confirmatur ista sententia ex multiplici facto Cristi. Opus enim tam veracis hominis est optimus interpret 10 sensus sermonis sui. Ex hoc enim narrat Lucas, Act. I, 1 primo, quod iste magister optimus, factum preponderans, *cepit facere et docere*. Sic enim reprobatur phariseos Mat. 23, ex duplicitate verborum; *dicunt*, inquit, *et non faciunt*. Absit autem talis duplicitas in Cristo; ymo 15 ex fide capimus quod Cristus exemplando exposuit ad quem sensum voluit discipulos suos mundum relinquere, et illum sensum sermonis sui exponere. Ideo, cum Cristus fuit summe pauper expropriarius, ipso dicente, Mat. 8., VIII, 20 quod non habet tantum proprietatis de mundo, ut habeat domicillium vel locum proprium *in quo caput suum reclinet*. Ad istum ergo sensum mandavit Cristus suis presbiteris mundum relinquere: quod servatum est quousque glosator diabolus comovit scribas suos scripturam subvertere. 25

Et concordat cum hoc lex nature, naturalis ratio et H. fides ecclesie. Constat quidem quod talis status pauperitatis est similior statui innocencie et statui glorie, sicut est similior statui quem Cristus et sui apostoli observarunt. Et ita patet ex fide quod affluentia temporalium non expedit viatori, nisi de quanto promovet ad beatitudinem aquirendam. Sed planum est ex eadem fide quod non promovet, sed tardat, omne quod habet ultra vite necessaria, et secundum modum quo recognoscat hec secundum istam rationem dari a deo: ergo, 35 cum hoc fieret innitendo divine providencie in talibus, querendo *primum regnum dei et iusticiam eius*, ut Cristus docuit, videtur quod ille modus habendi temporalia sit magis consonus hic in via. Et super hac lege videtur fundari regula apostoli 1. thi. 6, quam papa 40 et omnes episcopi debent specialiter observare, *habentes* 1 Tim. VI, 8

4. possi- A; *ib.* esse meus A. 14. 21 B. 16. exponit A. 36. dictionem *pro* divine B; *ib.* prudentie Ab.

Matth. XXIII. 3

Matth. VIII. 20

25

Matth. VI, 33

1 Tim. VI, 8

alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti simus. "Alimenta" dicit generaliter cibum et potum cum medicinis in quantum ad medelam anime promovent; et secundum modum magis aptum ad hoc, qui indubie est modus, quem

5 Cristus constituit et servavit. Et confirmari potest ex lege veteri. Nam Jerem. 35. patet quomodo deus comendat rechabitas, quia ad preceptum Jonadab filii recab noluerunt vinum bibere, nec edificiis vel agriculture intendere. Cum ergo Cristus, deus et homo, precepit suis 10 tam multipliciter verbo et exemplo, ut in nichil *negociis secularibus implicentur*, videtur prelatos nostros ex recabitarum opere iudicandos. Nam secundum apostolum 1^a cor. ultimo: *Si quis non amaverit dominum Jesum Cristum, anathema sit.* Et secundum evangelium Cristi 15 Joh. 14. *Si quis diligit Cristum | sermonem suum servabit.* Ex quibus videtur colligi quod tales prelati sunt excommunicati atque heretici; et per consequens pro nullis 20 graciis vel ministeriis spiritualibus consulendi. Et ista videtur sententia apostoli 2^a Thess. 3^o. *Si quis, inquit, non obedierit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate et non comisceamini cum illo, ut confundatur*; quia, ut docet apostolus ad thyt. 3^o, *Hereticum hominem debet fidelis post correptionem duplicem evitare*; et multo magis non debet fidelis dare illis taliter suas elemosinas contra 25 Cristum.

Luxurious prelates will be judged by the Rechabites,

and anathematized as heretics for not loving Christ, as they do not keep His commandments.

Sylvester, in spite of his motives, sinned in accepting an endowment so pernicious that it has infected all Christendom, and heavenly signs portend calamities.

2. cum deest A. 7. recabite in marg. A; recabitas C. 9. igitur C.
10. in deest omne; MSS. 26. quin deest B. 28. sunt deest C.
29. occupaverunt C. 30. Ecce C. 31. Et pro ex A; ib. 1^a itq3 C A.
33. q̄ = quam pro quod C; ib. etiam deest C. 35. occupate A;
occupare C. 36. blastemum A; blasphema BC.

tubacionem sue ecclesie. In cuius signum, propter strictitudinem anguli semidiametrorum in terra concurrentium fiunt angustie, dissensiones et bella, et specialiter de vocato patrimonio crucifixi et in secta cristiana: quod indicat, cum caput nostrum Cristus non potest deficere, 5 quod vocata membra discordant a capite, a quo recipiunt celestes influencias per observanciam mandatorum.

Suppose Christ were, unknown, to blame the prelates now and condemn the traffic in Church dignities, he would be burnt as a heretic or despised as a madman: for they persecute His members in like manner for so doing.

The Apostles Peter and Paul gave other examples: Judas had the care of the money, and the deacons, trusted in like manner, were below the Apostles.

In tantum, quod si Cristus prelati incogniti visiteret peregrine prelatos istius ecclesie presencia corporali, instaretque inopportune contra vocatos eius vicarios, sicut 10 olim institit contra minorem avariciam sacerdotum, est evidens quod excommunicarent eum in curia romana et nisi veritatem revocare voluerit, condemnarent eum ad ignem tamquam hereticum et blasphemam. Sic enim persecuntur eius membra, qui remisse nimis et vecor- 15 diter dicunt modicam scintillam conversacionis Cristi et obligacionem, prelatorum precipue, ad sequendum ipsum in moribus: ut, si tamquam rex substerneret mercandia ecclesie sicut olim, et preciperet servis suis per totum imperium quod non debent presbytero Cristi possessionem, 20 nec permittant eum quitquam occupare ultra formam quam Cristus instituit eis, quam maniacus reputaretur rex et quam excommunicatum decretum edicere! quia dampnabiliter causatur quod mundus aliter exigit hodie in prelatiis, cum oportet eos seculariter vivere, eo quod 25 aliter in despectum et disparenciam potestatis presbyteri periret dignitas prelatorum. Ista autem interpellacio blasfema preponit mundum domino; quia quod mundus requirit preponderat, cum, dimissis Cristi consiliis, querit fictam apparenciam quoad mundum. Talem autem 30 maioritatem sophisticam non quesierunt apostoli, quando Petrus latuit in domo coriarii et Paulus arti scenofactorie

2. angeli omnes MSS.; *ib.* semidyametrum C. 6. accipite A.
9. p̄latos ip̄ istū A: prelatos *deest* C. 10. q3 = quia A; = q3 quod C;
ib. inoportue A; imptune C. 12. et *deest* omnes MSS. 14. cum B.
15. et nimis C. 17. eum; *in marg.* ipsum A. 19. ecclesie *deest* C.
20. debet omnes MSS. 22. mai'acy A. 28. blasfemo B. 26. f̄ff; A.
32. en'ary A; *ib.* scenofacō A; scenevece B.

2. Being unable to find any sense in the reading *angeli*, I have supposed that the passage has something to do with astrological predictions, rife in those days. Perhaps two untoward planets were nearly in conjunction at that time and their radii, drawn from the central point *earth* made a very acute angle (cf. Sermones II, 126).

intendebat; ymmo, quando Paulus ordinavit episcopos intendere domui sue, ipso omnino egente, non scivit quod per temporalium copiam debet dignitas presbyteri mensurari. Recoluit enim quod Judas portavit oculos,

Christ's rule is that the humblest shall be the highest.

et quod diaconi, ex hoc inferiores apostolis, bona pauperum dispensarunt. Sed oportet quod tunc quassaretur contencio inter discipulos Jesu, *quis eorum videretur esse maior*; et, contempta apparencia mundani honoris, intendunt regule Cristi lu. 22, quod humilis ex maiori caritate ministrancior, licet non videtur seculo (de qua latencia gauderet), sed est de facto apud deum maior eo.

Luc.
XXII,
24

Fomitem autem huius maioritatis mundane ministravit Constantinus romane ecclesie. In cuius penam creditur imperium enervatum. Nam vix invenis principem vel hereditatem terrenam quin sit isto toxico maculata. Nam,

Constantine's endowment has weakened both the Church and the Empire:

vel in occupationem anticristi laceratur dominium, vel secularis omittit causam Cristi corrigere vel expresse consentit mamnone anticristi. Ideo non mirum, si sic venenatum rethe temporalis domini illaqueat multos

inviscatos diaboli. Oportet ergo conformiter brachiumulare concurre, et fomitem venenose divisionis in ecclesia romana extingwere. Nec oportet timere periculum, habito oculo simplici et manu prudenti, quia pro reparacione status cleri quem Cristus instituit laboratur.

Et ex fide capimus quod non peccatur sed promeretur, in quantum ex parte Cristi intencione simplici laboratur. Sicut ergo Cristus laboravit ad destruendum peccata sacerdotum, phariseorum, et scribarum, eorum fastu et questu inficiente ecclesiam, instituendo sacerdotes

condicionis opposite: sic debet princeps fidelis, dei vicarius, sacerdotes suos plus evagantes extra normam Cristi corripere, et specialiter elemosinas suas subtrahere. Aliter enim cum bonis Cristi fovet proditorie partem contra ipsum. Et cum istud peccatum tantum publi-

catur ex parte utriusque brachii, manifestum est quod durante hac heresi non permanebit | ecclesia inturbata, sed necesse est bella, lites et prodiciones undique seminari.

it therefore becomes a duty of the secular prince, God's vicegerent, to undo the mischief, follow Christ's example, and refuse temporal aid to priests who are in error.

2. ipō q̄q̄ aīo A. 3. per deest B. 6. dispensarent C. 10. mīttor AC;

ib. quo pro qua A. 11. gaudetur B; ib. eo maior C. 12. ifoite₃ A.

13. q̄fātū₉ A. 14. ipiū = impium A; ib. oneratum A. 15. ista toxica AB.

18. mamōē A. 19. venatū A; ib. relaqueat BC. 20. iūttos A; invisca-

tos A; in visco C; ib. concorditer B. 27. igitur C. 33. fovēt C.

37. bella et lites C.

And first of all, the root of blasphemy must be put down; the money which the clergy has would be most useful to strengthen the secular arm; for the king is to the kingdom like the heart to the body, and death ensues if his power is too much weakened.

Et cum oportet a causa morbi incipere, manifestum est quod oportet primo humiliari caput huius blasfemie; ebulliente enim fonte huius scaturiginis venenose, necesse est partem diaboli multum prevalere. Si enim totum dominium in manu cleri prudenter dispersum fuerit 5 in manu brachii secularis, optatum foret medium ad pacificandum et instruendum rem publicam secundum religionem apostolicam pauperum clericorum. Unde ymaginatur quidam quod rex, cui primo et ultimo inest vita politica, sit quasi cor in medio corporis, 10 vallatus possensionibus regni sui; et deficiente seculari dominio partibus regni per innaturalem eius accumulationem clero, necesse est ut, corde appropinquante morti politice, inordinate spoliet partes sibi subiectas, et discrasia suborietur in toto corpore policie. Talis 15 enim est ordo in humano corpore prope mortem cordis, quod primo et ultimo vivit, trahentem cum impetu substantiam parcium exteriorum.

2. *after quod*: durante hac heresi quod C. 3. ebulliente C. 4. ^m A; nimium B. 12. regis BC; *ē*. p. ¹ n²alem A. 15. Christi *pro* est B; *ē*. corde B; cordis *deest* C.

CAPITULUM QUINTUM.

- A. Secunda coniugacio membrorum filie sanguisuge sunt
 cardinales apostate. In illis enim, ut cardine, vertuntur
 valve duplicitatis late vie que ducit ad baratrum. Unde
 5 illis iuxta nomen et syllabas quatuor *car-di-na-lis* descri-
 bunt quidam quod cardinalis est CARior Diaboli NATus,
 Math. XII, 30. Licium Seminator. Cum enim secundum fidem, *qui non*
est cum Cristo contra Cristum est; illi autem *non con-*
gregant cum Cristo secundum legem suam membra
 10 ecclesie secundum rationem comunem universalis Cristi
 domini, sed *dispergunt*, dum querunt fastum et questum
 proprium; et quantum in eis est solvunt, multiplicando
 capita, unitatem: quod si habent preeminenciam in hac
 blasphema apostasia, manifestum est quod sunt tales.
 15 Nomen enim impositum preter exemplum scripture non
 habet tantam vim numinis ut excludat cathenas diaboli
 et imprimat veritatem domini eo ipso. Tales igitur,
 sicut servando legem Cristi magis proficiunt, sic apo-
 statando magis officiant. Unde quidam, notando 16 literas:
 20 *cardinalis*, dicit quod universitas malicie in nomine
 illorum includitur: ac si diceretur *Cardinalis*, quasi
 Custos Apostotarum Regni Diaboli, iuvans Nequissimum
 Ad Legem Iudicis Sopiendam.
- Sed quomodocunque fuerit de istis verbis extra-
 25 ordinariis, in maiori parte veris, certum videtur quod
 officium illud cum nomine fuit culpabiliter et sine
 auctoritatis evidenciam introductum. Nam institutio cuius-
 cunque romani pontificis in summum ducem et proximum
 Cristi vicarium fuit stulta: ergo quodcunque accessorium.
- The college of Apostate Cardinals is the hinge (*cardo*) of the door of the broad way; the syllables and letters of the very word can be made to affirm their wickedness: firstly, if they harm the Church.
- The Cardinalate was wrongly instituted; because, Papal pretensions being wrong, whatever favours them must be wrong too.

1. 5 red ink C. 5. silabas omnes MSS. 6, 7. ē car'or dial' nato
 litū ser'ator. A. 7. suscitator B. 8. contra ipsum est BC.
 11. disperdunt BC. 13. habet A. 18, 19. apostōdo A; apostōfado C.
 19. 10 deest C. 24. extra deest C. 26. istud C.

ad roborandum vel consulendum istam stulticiam. Assumptum patet, eo quod non subest potestati terrene pontificem talem statuere. Ideo foret nimis magna blasfemia, hoc temptare. Et iterum, foret ewangelica sapiencia omnes sacerdotes esse socios regulatos immediate per unum⁵ abbatem dominum nostrum Jesum Cristum. Sic enim fuit tempore apostolorum, quando crevit ecclesia; et sententia ista consonat cum scriptura. Item, non licet vel angelo de celo onerare ecclesiam vel introducere¹⁰ novos ritus inedicabiles vel infundabiles in scriptura. Sed ritus cardinalatus est nimis per se inedicativus ecclesie et infundabilis in scriptura; ergo, non licet ista statuere. Maiorem suppono ex fide, cum aliter liceret sponsam Cristi (et sic Cristum) dampnificare. Et istam perfidiam destruit apostolus ad Gall. 1^o. Minor autem¹⁵ argumenti patet ex hoc quod ante hoc nomen vel ritum Gal. I. introductum plus profecit ecclesie; et cardinales, deposito nomine et onere ecclesie, et ablatis fastu et questu, plus undiquaque proficerent. Notet, inquam, cardinalis, B. in quo secundum legem Cristi prodest ecclesie, in quo²⁰ non efficacius proficeret dimisso lucro, nomine et honore. Nec dubium quin in isto excessu apostotat, quia contra regulam quam Cristus instituit ad edificacionem ecclesie retrocedit. Et patet, cum potestatem istam supra Cristum vendicat, quod blasfemat.²⁵

Item, terminus potencie et officii ministri ecclesie, ne evagetur in devium, est signandus: sed nullus, si non ille, quem Cristus instituit. Cum enim Cristus sit omnipotens, omnisciens ac summe benevolus, patet quod ratio necessitat eum incorrigibiliter ordinare, et specialiter cum³⁰ in primitiva ecclesia foret messis plurior et laboricium copiosius, ordinaret deus plurem maneriem ministrorum. Tunc autem non ordinavit nisi diacones et presbyteros. Idem autem sunt presbyteri et sacerdotes sive episcopi,

2. patet *deest* B; patet ex eo C; *ib.* potēti^m A. 3. nimina *pro* nimis magna B. 5. esse sacros regulatos C; *ib.* unicum C. 12. igitur C. 13. supposicionem A; *ib.* licet C. 16. patet *deest* A. 18. cum *pro* et BC. 20. quod *pro* in quo *omnes* MSS. 22. apostol^m A. 27. demum A. 29. et *pro* ac C; *ib.* benivol^m AC. 30. cum *deest* B; *ib.* incorr^mter B. 31. in *deest* B. 31. laboritimum B. 32. plen^m A. 33. enim B. 34. sunt *deest* BC.

33. *Ordinavit*. Wyclif seems to argue as though the Cardinalate were a special form of Holy Orders; no doubt on account of their power of electing the Pope. 34. Jeron. Ad Evangelium, *ubi supra*.

As it would be certainly better for the Church and the cardinals if they laid aside their dignities, which have no Scripture warrant, these are unjustifiable.

A line must be drawn somewhere in the number of Church dignities; and there can be none but the line drawn by Christ, who ordained none but priests and deacons.

ut docet Jeron. in epist. 18 ad Evandrum, ex textu apostoli. Ideo dicit archidiaconus cum aliis concorditer, quod in tempore apostolorum non fuerunt nisi duo ordines cleri, scilicet diaconus et sacerdos.

- 5 Et quod illud foret melius patet nedum auctoritate, ratione et practica, sed levi et utili experientia. Nam certum est quod totum genus humanum est tantum finite honorificencie mundialis, cuius magna parte attributa clero in cardinalibus, necesse est totum mun-
 10 danum honorem humani generis debitum secularibus indebite dispartiri. | Et idem est iudicium de sumptuosa
 41^b familia et expensis; cultor itaque vinee domini potest faciliter experiri quomodo ecclesia, quantum ad fastum et questum, foret exonerata, si fuerit isto gradu car-
 15 dinalium expurgata. Et istud deducunt quidam ex hoc, quod post dotacionem et promocionem ecclesie, multiplicata sunt (preter legem ewangelii) officia dignitatum in patriarchis et cardinalibus et aliis ministris adiacen-
 20 tibus, ultra hoc quod est fundabile in scriptura alterius testamenti. Et cum non proporcionaliter crescit fructus ministerii, verisimile est quod causa huius multiplicacionis est cupiditas temporalium, et mundani honoris affectio. Sic enim posset hoc devium, nisi haberet frenum, procedere infinite. Et pensata regula non evacuabitur
 25 quin mensura debita per Cristum exceditur: quod foret C. nimis periculosum in principio religionis Cristi. Fatentur enim se habere in quodam ordine tamquam apostolos in profectu ecclesie: quod est evidencius in causacione defectus ecclesie. Primo enim blasfemant supra apostolos,
 30 quod sine ipsorum collegio non stat via rata ecclesie. Et cum manifestum sit quod ipsa deviat, oportet ipsos concedere quod ipsi principaliter causant hoc devium. Cum enim, ut inquirunt, habent a deo comissam curam ecclesie, vel oportet eos in se fingere defectum
 35 regiminis, vel in deo. Talis ergo blasphemus est nimis

There being but a limited amount of honour payable in the world, what goes to the cardinals is so much taken from the secular powers, burdening the Church, unscriptural, and resulting from the love of worldly glory.

They consider themselves as similar to the Apostles, and blaspheme; for if the Church is in its present state, they put the fault on God, and are therefore unworthy to rule.

1. enge^m B. 8, 9. magnam partem attributam omnes MSS.
 11. dispartiri AB. 18. cat. lib^s (et in marg.) cardiab. A. 19, 20. in altero testamento BC. 25. excedr^r A. 28. caucoe C. 30. sine in marg. suppl. C.

2. Guido de Baisio, an Italian theologian, archdeacon of Bologna; born in Reggio; died after 1300. There are no fewer than six persons designated by the title of *Archidiaconus*. See Franklin's *Dictionnaire des pseudonymes latins*.

Their want of
submission to
Christ's law
shows this; the
more incapable
of doing good,
the prouder
they are.

indispositus ad regendum ecclesiam, quia indisponit se
quoad deum, a quo reciperet omnem veritatem sui
regiminis. Ideo implicite, licet mendaciter, dicit quod
contra voluntatem Cristi ex se et anticristo regit
ecclesiam; aliter enim submitteret se Cristo, servando
legem quam Cristus instituit ad hoc opus, et excuciendo
superbos ritus et onerosos cum quibus Cristus non
coagit. Talis, inquam, est eo superbior quo est ipse ad
edificacionem ecclesie inutilior, et in fingendo gradum
alcioiem quoad deum multiplicacio. Et hec ratio, quare
apostoli non miscuerunt se cum mundanis honoribus vel
mediis ad eosdem.

It is objected
that this would
put an end to
I. endowments,
II. graduations,
III. excommuni-
cations.

I. True, this
doctrine would
put an end to
Church
endowments;
but it would
enrich the
clergy with
virtues.

Argumenta autem que fiunt ad stabiliendum papatus
vel cardinalatus officium non sunt digna memoria. Sed
contra ista arguitur per hoc, quod iuxta hanc viam
cessaret omnis cleri dotacio, omnis eorum graduacio,
et omnis eorum excommunicacio, eo quod Cristus non
auctorisavit ista in opere vel sermone. Hic dicitur quod
(limitato sensu pertinenti) verum concluditur; debet
enim clerus dotari a Cristo virtutibus secundum quas
confirmabitur in merito vie. correspondentes ad dotes
patrie. Terrenam autem coniugacionem perpetuitatis
temporalium non debet clerus Cristi admittere.

And we must
destroy the
reign of
Antichrist,
consisting of
false members
of the Church,
in order to
strengthen
Christ's
kingdom, which
is not of this
world, like
Antichrist's.

Unde communiter dicitur quod triplex est regnum,
scilicet anticristi, principis terreni, et Cristi. Primum
est destruendum, 2^{um} consulendum, et 3^{um} adquirendum.
Primum autem regnum stat in pseudopapis, pseudo-
cardinalibus, pseudoepiscopis, cum suis abbatibus et
prelatis eis subditis. Et sicut Cristus acquirit regnum
deo patri, ut dicit apostolus 1^a Cor. 15^o; sic anticristus
est in adquirendo regnum patri suo sathane. Est enim
anticristus Cristo contrarius; quia Cristus aufugit regnum
terrenum (Joh. 6); Anticristus autem isto studio nititur
secundum regulas sathane adquirere sibi ipsum. Cristus
precepit suis censum dare cesari, recognoscendo ipsum
superiorem et dominum quoad mundum. Anticristus
vero non recognoscit superiorem in terris, nec vult, ut
Cristus, concedere quod vivit de puris elemosinis secu-
larium; sed subtractis elemosinis spiritualibus, fingit

All in him
contrasts with
Christ, his
pride with
Christ's
lowliness, his
riches with

10. multiplier AC. 14. cardinalis A. 15. hanc per hoc A; *ib.* hanc
before viam deest A. 18. h' A. 21. in m'to AC; *ib.* correspon-
denter C. 23. qm't' A. 24. Nota in marg. A. 25. scilicet deest A.
8. episcopis B. 30. 5 AC. 31. adquirendum AC. 32. x' A.
7. ut postea suppl. C.

quod de suis elemosinis corporalibus vivit totum brachium
 seculare. Et sic, ubi in sinceritate et veritate est tota
 conversacio Cristi, in yppocrisi et mendacio est tota
 conversacio anticristi. Cristus enim vixit vitam pauperi-
 mam, non habens temporaliter proprium, ubi caput
 suum reclinet, ut hic supponitur. Anticristus autem
 supponit se dominum orbis; et certum est quod in
 falsitate mendacii, quia si illud ius possidet, constat

Christ's
 poverty, his
 falsity with
 Christ's truth.

Math.

IV. 8, 9

quod titulo sathane (4^o Math.) Cristo mendaciter
 promittentis quod *omnia regna mundi* sibi daret, *si*
cadens ipsum adoraret: quod facit anticristus totidem
 vicibus quot legem sathane et commodum temporale
 veritati Cristi preponderat. Nec dubium quin mendaciter
 et blasfeme istud regnum occupatur; quia titulo quo
 ista possessio foret patrociniū crucifixi, qui sic vivens
 possessionem talem contulit anticristo vicario suo! Est
 eciam anticristus tamquam filius sathane sibi ipsi con-
 trarius, quia a Cristo non poterit tenere illud dominium,
 nisi, servando legem suam, foret precipuus sequax vite
 Cristi. A quo cum olim forefaceret, patet quam iuste
 perdidit titulum quoad Cristum. Et cum diffitetur se
 habere illud a principibus seculi pro servicio quod
 Cristus et seculares domini limitarunt, non superest a quo,
 nisi a sathana, possideat regnum istud. Et verificata est
 prophecia apostoli 2^a tessel 2^o. *Quod anticristus extollitur*
super omne quod dicitur deus.

2 Thess.

II. 4

Math.

XII, 25

Sed consolacio est in Cristo dicente, Math. 12. *Omne*
regnum contra se divisum desolabitur. Si, inquit, sathanas
sathanam eicit, adversus se divisus est, quomodo ergo
stabit regnum eius? Sathan enim qui secundum Ysid.
 vocatur adversator, potest dici dictus anticristus cum
 suis membris, qui adversatur deo, homini et sibi ipsi.
 Et cum terrenum regnum inficitur ista labe, et regna
 tam spissim insurgunt adversus regna, patet *quomodo*
sathan sathanam eicit. Non solum | promotus anticristi,
 adeptus ecclesiasticam dignitatem, verum eciam diabolus
 in forma religiosi conquirat sceleratissime sub fuco patri-
 monii crucifixi. Ideo cum partes huius regni non sibi
 G. cohereant, ut prophetizatur dan. 3^o, necesse est ut hoc

He is the son
 of Satan who
 said the world
 belonged to
 him; and as
 such he reigns
 under the false
 pretence of
 following
 Christ, which
 he has long
 ceased to do.

But his
 kingdom is
 coming to an
 end for it is
 now divided
 against itself,
 Satan being the
 adversary of
 God, of men,
 and of himself;
 and devils cast
 out devils.

2. munda^a A. 7. se esse B. 8. quod A. 9. 11 B. 10. pro-
 mittendi omnes MSS. 10, 11. si — adoraret deest C. 12. quo A.
 16. anticristus omnes MSS. 29. sathass fatham A. 33. cum pro et
 cum B. 37, 38. pro^a A. 39. pba^a A; pphetat^a C.

regnum corruens desoletur. Secundum autem, terrenum regnum, oportet foveri in timore et pietate sub spe tercii regni acquirendi, pro quo rogamus, Mat. 6: *Adveniat regnum tuum.* Matth. VI, 10

II. Not only the Church should be disendowed, but all hierarchical degrees should be done away with, according to our doctrine, leaving only the hidden differences of personal holiness.

Sicut ergo conceditur quod cessaret omnis cristiani cleri dotacio (et ad hoc obnixè ageret quodlibet mundanum imperium, et precipuus clerus Cristi; sed pseudo-fratres subdole plus retardant); ulterius conceditur quod cessaret omnis graduacio in clero, cum omnis presbyter niteretur, quantum posset, secundum Cristi miliciam regnum anticristi destruere, et, fovendo regnum terrenum, regnum celorum recipere; sed preter, graduacionem in Cristo absconditam. correspondenter ad gradus huius milicie, in fide Cristi expetere. Et per hoc reduceretur clerus Cristi ad quantitatem proporcionalem mundi et morum ecclesie.

III. As for excommunications, they would also cease, for they are the Devil's weapons, and are prefigured by the treason of Judas; his use of armed men, his hypocritical kiss and his pieces of silver; and at the Day of Judgment those who excommunicate will go backwards and fall to the ground.

Et quantum ad tercium, dictum est diffuse de excommunicatione pro temporalibus, quomodo est iniusta. Diabolus enim machinatus est media per que posset sibi regnum conquirere, cum non solum excitat suos milites ad pugnandum corporaliter, sed quia robor efficac eis deficit ad expugnandum Cristi miliciam, quod paliant excommunicationem horridam in Cristi nomine: ut vel sic cristicole terreantur negare temporalia Cristi membris diaboli. Omnia autem ista sunt figurata in Scarioth, qui cum accepisset cohortem et ministros a phariseis osculo proditorio tradidit veritatem, ut dicitur Jo. 18. Sic anticristus cecat armatam miliciam secularem, hinc simulacione sanctitatis cause, hinc ministris executoribus censure terrificæ, hinc ficcione sinceri amoris quo fingunt se veritatem diligere, eciam excommunicatum suum quem tam aspere persecuntur. Et evidens est quod simulant inde osculum, quia peccant gravius quoad deum. Et propter collacionem temporalium que Judas expetit erunt cum cremento inestimabilis indulgencie absolute: quod evidenter indicat ipsos non ob amorem dicte persone quam sic excommunicant, sed propter amorem peccunie medicinam terrificam taliter fulminare. Sed in finali iudicio, quando Cristus dicet eis: *Ego sum, abibunt retrorsum et cadent in terram*, quia invincibile iudicium dei et hominis, quod nullus eorum potest

1. hoc regnum diaboli B. 5. Sic igitur C. 10. inniteretur B.
17. 2^m C. 19. media deest C. 26. coortem C. 37. pp ob A.
39. pasci in marg. A.

fugere nec a iudice culpam abscondere, faciet eos in tenebras exteriores corruere.

- F. Signa autem preponderantie fastus et questus super honorem dei et salutem ecclesie est modus et frequentatio excommunicacionis quam modo fulminant, ultra hoc quod Cristus et sui apostoli exemplarunt. Ipsi enim non tradiderunt quemquam sathane, nec habuerunt potestatem ad hoc, nisi proporcionaliter ut demeruerit apud deum. Numquid credimus lex excommunicacionis (de qua in 7^o decretal. de penis, ca^o *felicitis recordacionis*)? ubi statuitur, quod "si quis cardinalem romane ecclesie hostiliter fuerit persecutus, si percusserit vel ceperit, aut si socius fuerit facientis, sit perpetuo infamis tamquam reus criminis lese maiestatis. Sit diffidatus, sit intestabilis; nec habebit in repetendo vel respondendo in iudicio liberam accionem". Et sic de multis condicionibus infundabilibus, que sunt magis horrende quam pena pro tradicionem Cristi psalmo Scarioth prophetata. Ubi certum videtur, cum apud deum non sit personarum accepcio, quod ista lex processit ex afleccione proprietaria iniuriam propriam vindicandi; quod repugnat caritati, cum exemplatur ex commentis diaboli, cui proprium est nulli dimittere sed omnino niti iniuriam propriam vindicare.

- Item, de lege dei oportet quod equalis iniuria equaliter et maior iniuria amplius puniatur. Sed sepe contingit, quod peccatum in alium non cardinalem sit gravius; ergo, iustum foret quod pena inflictas sit gravior, cum cardinalis non in quantum talis sit Cristi domini nec in domino confirmatus, sed de possibili persequens Cristum et membra eius, manifestum est ex lege divini iudicii, quod licet in casu secundum istam penam triplicem et multo acucius persequi cardinalem. Qui igitur statuit penam huiusmodi blasfemie legem statuit contra deum. Item, maior pars istarum penarum sapit blasfemiam, nec subiacet episcopi potestati. Quomodo, queso, habet papa potestatem mandandi omnia bona talium confiscari, nisi fuerit monarcha imperans seculariter toti

The number and frequency of excommunications is a sufficient proof that they do not proceed from a right motive; they should not be disproportioned to the offence, as in a certain Decretal, which it is clear was dictated by a spirit of revenge.

Why should an offence be punished more severely, because it was against a Cardinal? Not necessarily belonging to Christ, not confirmed in grace, and perhaps a persecutor, he may himself merit the severest punishment. Whence has the Pope power to command such penalties?

5. non *pro* modo A. 6. ex-^a-nt̃ (*sic*) A. 8. ad — nisi *deest* C.
10. quo B; *ib.* 6^o B; *ib.* a^o A. 11. cardinales A. 12. insecutus B.
13. socius *deest* B; *ib.* condicionis AB. 15. ^ondedo (*sic*) A. 16. ligam *pro* liberam B. 18. primo B. 20. pccit^{ur} A. 22. exemplar excommunicantes A. 23. debet *pro* sed A; d3 (= debet) C. 27. igitur C; *ib.* insita A. 28. Cristus A. 31. licet *deest* A.

Agam,
disinheritance
is unjust.
No one should
suffer but for
his own sins.

mundo? et sic de ruina habitacionis talium et exclusione
communicacionis politice cum republica. Quomodo in- Ezech.
super inhabitabitur in herede, cum lex dei Ezech. ponit XVIII,
in libertate arbitrii filiorum vel patrisare vel degenerare 2
et secundum hoc retribucionem recipere? et sic undique 5
de ignorancia condignitatis pene infligte; sic quod
tollerabilius foret cardinalatum non esse quam tam
spissim et tam perseveranter sub forma legis perpetue
blasfemare.

Query:
Whether all
the prelates are
heretics? Some
heretics are
only so-called,
some are *real*,
i. e. such as
God knows to
be so because
they are in
mortal sin.
Who keeps
God's law is a
Catholic; who
does not is a
heretic.

2^o principaliter arguitur, quod omnes tales prelati 10 G.
forent heretici et per consequens tam in accionibus suis
quam passionibus forent reputandi tamquam | heretici 42^b
et tractandi: consequens inopinabile. Hic dicitur quod
in finali iudicio multi cognoscentur heretici qui modo
reputantur archicristiani. Ideo distinguitur communiter, 15
pocius pro modo loquendi quam pro veritate rei, quod
dupliciter dicitur hereticus: scilicet *vere* et *nuncupative*.
Vere, quem deus noscit prescitum ab ecclesia propter
sua scelera; et solum talis est de facto hereticus. Sed
nuncupative hereticus est quem iudices vel iniqui reputant 20
hereticum; et hoc est impertinens ad esse hereticum.
Cristus enim fuit reputatus summe hereticus, quia blas-
femus et propterea occidendus. Unde probabiliter creditur
quod nostri prelati, sicut fuit in veteri testamento, dam-
pnant multos tamquam hereticos, et secundum divinum 25
iudicium est e contra. Et sic omnes prelati nostri presciti
vel peccantes mortaliter sunt heretici; et sicut est in talibus
iudicium erroneum, sic plurimum nocent ecclesie, quic-
quid fecerint. Iudicium autem infallibile de hereticis atque
catholicis est quod omnis qui servaverit legem Cristi 30
est catholicus, et solum talis. Et quicumque dissolverit
legem Cristi est hereticus, et solum talis. Et in utroque
sunt multi gradus et iudicium ecclesie variatum.

It is blasphemy
to say that the
Pope can decide
who is a
heretic.
This is itself a
heresy,
implying
impeccability
on the part of
the judge.

Sed inter omnes blasfemias istius materie, una de
maximis est quod nemo creditur esse hereticus nisi 35
a papa vel iudice sibi subdeputato fuerit iudicatus
pro tali; et tunc est hereticus eo ipso. Nam sic iusti-
ficaretur iudicium sacerdotum condemnancium Cristum
ad mortem, et nostri prelati extollerentur *super omne*
quod dicitur deus, cum tantum variando a Cristi vita 40

3. lex dei C: *ib.* Exeielis B. 8. et iam perseveranter *deest* A.
13, 14. et — modo *deest* A. 16. pocius *deest* AC 18. prescitum *deest* AC.
21. lege vel C. 27. peccatores A; peccatores C. 32. talis *deest* C.
34. intra *pro* materie A. 36. obiecto *pro* subdeputato B; sub^{to} f C.

forent impeccabiles, quod aures fidelium abhorrerent. Unde quam evidenter creditur quod prelati exhorbitant a Cristi vestigiis, tam evidenter cognoscitur quod sunt heretici; et eo gravius, quo magis et constancius declinant. Et in ista sententia catholica debent omnes cristiani usque ad mortem stare concorditer. Oportet enim credere quod Cristus est caput universalis ecclesie, quem oportet omnem salvandum sequi in conversacione; et eo propius quo in ecclesia superius. Et iuxta hanc fidem oporteret fideles disponere se ad martyrium H. contra anticristum. Jam enim machinatum est per falsos fratres novum genus martyrii, quod quicunque fuerit impetitus super heretica pravitate debet sibi proponi a prelato vel iudice, et debet ille simpliciter concedere vel negare; quo concesso, debet indilate exponi ad ignem sine responso ulteriori. Unde superadditur quod episcopi ipsi, propter hoc quod tolerant tales hereticos, sunt a suis episcopis deponendi.

Contra istam blasphemiam invehitur. *Primo*: sepe contingit quod tam prelati quam iudices errant in fide, iudicando de valde fideli sententia quod sit heretica; quo habito, si sic procederetur ad iudicium, iudicaretur temere contra fidem. Ergo iudicaretur taliter; sed consequens est blasphemum. Qui autem tenet quod non contingit prelatos vel iudices errare in isto, blasfeme extollit eos supra Cristum. Nam qui non potest errare invidia vel ignorancia in tali iudicio non potest errare simpliciter.

Item, ista lex foret contra misericordiam, et per consequens sequens contra omnipotenciam trinitatis, et per consequens foret plena blasfemia. Nam staret cum assumpto quod quidam foret inpotens ad concedendum vel negandum expresse sibi impositum. Staret eciam quod haberet a deo lumen intelligencie ad convincendum suos iudices super stulto iudicio, sicut Daniel convicerat sacerdotes. Et staret tercio quod contritus de sua pertinacia fructuose doleat de commisso. Quod cum repugnaret divine clemencie ut adeo dampnetur, patet quam blasphemum foret falsum illud pro lege statuere. Nam illud non, sed

Christ alone is Head of the Church, and we should follow Him alone, and suffer martyrdom for this truth.

A new sort of martyrdom; the accused must answer yes or no, and if yes, be at once burnt as a heretic, and his bishop be deposed for tolerating him.

This is protested against, 1. because the judges are themselves apt to err out of hatred or ignorance.

Such proceedings, allowing of no explanation, no argument to convince the judges, no room for repentance, are cruel, contrary to Christ's and indeed to all law, unless it be Mahomet's.

1. abhorrent A. 2. quod C. 4. sic *pro* et B. 11. illud B.
16. 17. episcopi *deest* A. 17. quod *postea* suppl. C; *ib.* extulerant B.
18. episcopis *in marg.* A. 20. errant omnes MSS. 22. a iudice A.
23. igitur C. 24. blasphemum A; *ib.* Quod *pro* qui A. 27. vel negligencia sive ignorancia C. 31. plana B. 37. convinceret A; convicerat B.
36. ut *pro* et B; *ib.* primo *pro* tercio B. 39. scripture sive stature (*sic*) C

lex contraria, ordinatur pro hereticis in lege domini. Unde nulla lex mundi, nisi forte fuerit lex machomete, condempnavit convictum, nisi premittat responsum. Nam in finali iudicio prescitus concedet irrevocabiler crimen suum.

5

As for the deposing of bishops, it is a plot laid by an apostate to get fat bishopries for himself.

For a Friar who becomes a bishop is an apostate unless as zealous, as poor and as humble as before.

Item, quantum ad illud apostaticum, patet quod non subest ratio, nisi forte talis pseudo velit episcopatus pinguiore symoniace spoliare, sicut episcopatum symoniace in curia perquisivit. Symoniace dico; quia non dubium, 1. si propter fastum et lucrum statum expropriarium 10 pauperis fratris deseruit et non propter amorem salutis anime subditorum, tunc est manifestus hereticus. Quod convinci poterit, si diligencius post onus suscepti regiminis curat animas subditorum, et si servaverit paupertatem et penalitatem fratris solitam, cum maiori humilitate et ceteris virtutibus; cum tamen ista sint compossibilia episcopo; et propter perfeccionem dimitti non debeant, sed augeri.

A Friar, becoming a rich bishop can hardly fail to apostatize; he keeps the garb but neglects the mortifying practices of his Order.

Et forte coram deo et humano iudicio pauci vel nulli sunt fratres ad episcopatus pingwes promoti, qui non 20 apostotant, quia in religione domini retrocedunt. Nam perfeccionem ordinis quam oportet se ipsos concedere, pretermittunt, cum tot animas et tam meritorie edificare poterint; sed ex antiqua yppocrisi patris sui servant accidencia sui habitus, ut colorem, quantitatem et figuram 25 extrinsecam, et dimittunt ritus penales absconditos, in quibus sua religio | servaretur; quia cultores et consecratores accidencium, tamquam *generacio adultera*, *signa querunt*. Sed, *yppocrita, eice primum trabem de* ^{Luc.} *oculo tuo, et tunc poteris festucam de oculo* ^{VI, 42} *episcopi confratris tui detrachere*. Si enim sub negligencia symoniaca sunt in tua diocesi mille heretici, qua fronte hortaris episcopum sub pena amissionis episcopii, quod in loco exempto condempnet tamquam hereticum in

Hypocrite, wouldst thou depose a brother bishop, when thousands of heretics are in thy own diocese?

3. condempnabit C. 7. volet C. 9. in contratta curia pro in curia B. 11. fratris deest AC. 12. tunc deest A. 13. onus deest B. 18. augi A. 25. sine habitu A. 27, 28. consector C. 31. deicere B.

12. Wyclif names nobody; but his contemporaries must have known pretty well whom he was describing: a rich bishop, author of the scheme he attacks, and formerly a Friar. In Ch. XIII, he says "*quidam frater Londoniis . . . asseruit publice hominem sine responso comburendum tanquam hereticum*." Though it is not usual to call a Bishop "friar", this may have been the same person. After *poterit* I should supply *quaerendo*.

materia quam blaterando nescis concipere? Certum quippe est, secundum legem talionis, quod tu es coronatus hereticus, nisi ostenderis personam quam sic cece accusas esse hereticam. Cece, dico tibi, quia nude ex revelacione mendaciorum quibus mendacia accumulasti. Et ista foret nimis ceca probacio ad convincendum hereticum, potissime quia persona illa accusata de heresi protestatur et erit parata continue revocare, si debeat. Et talis secundum legem Cristi non est hereticus.

He whom thou blindly accusest in a matter thou canst not understand, without proofs, (except lies), protests, and will recant, if need be.

10 Sed vereor quod iste episcopus nescit corrigere in hac parte. Stat enim difficultas de quidditate sacramenti altaris; persona autem accusata dicit cum scriptura quod est panis secundum naturam et est corpus Cristi per miraculum. Pars autem adversa dicit quod est
15 secundum naturam abieccius quam aliqua substancia, et miraculum non se extendit, ut faciat ipsum esse corpus Cristi; sed ut ipsum, privatum subiecto, sit
K. signum corporis Cristi. In isto autem episcopus nescit hereticare aliquem, nisi forte heresi mendaci ficta maculet

This is the point; the accused says that the Sacrament, by nature bread, is Christ's body by a miracle; his opponents give it the most abject nature, and deny that it is more than the sign of Christ's Body. Who is the heretic?

20 prius mundum. Sed *a periculo in falsis fratribus* libera nos domine! Ipsum enim, ut recitat apostolus 2^a Cor. 2.
2 Cor. XI, 26 est ultimum; et, ut dicit Augustinus, est maximum. Si enim hereticus nititur subvertere legem Cristi, sine responso comburendo mendaciter accusatum de heresi,

Who but he who would burn the accused without allowing him to answer?

25 quis non timeret tale meridianum demonium? Sed spes est quod corruet cum attemptet sibi impossibile contra Cristum. Quis, rogo, episcopus non deponeretur, si permissio heretici in sua heresi diocesi sit causa sufficiens deponendi? Tunc enim deponendus foret episcopus ani-

Every bishop would have to be deposed for suffering heretics;

30 marum, Cristus, cum scienter permittit Iudam et istum refugam cum multis similibus. Sicut enim errat in scandalisando fratres de heresi, sic errat a lege Cristi in modo condemnandi hereticos; cum Cristus precipit in suo apostolo hereticum devitare, Thimot. 3^o. Timendum est quod *de ore proprio* iudicabitur *servus nequam*, cum

Christ Himself suffered Judas and suffers this apostate too.

Luc.
XIX, 22

4. esse *deest* B; *ib.* tibi *deest* C. 5. mendacium *pro* mendaciorum

omnes MSS. 12. aut *acca*² *accat*² A. 17. ut *deest* B. 19. *lire pro*
hereticare A. 30. istam B. 31. similibus *deest* C. 33. *ymmo pro*
in modo A. 34. tit^m 3 C.

1. As is shown by the sequel, this refers to the Eucharistic controversy. Wyclif has fairly lost patience with his adversary; yet it must be confessed that his own system of philosophy is so subtle, and his view of the Eucharist, connected therewith, so difficult to understand, that 'nescis concipere' is hardly an insult.

lignorancia crassa et ceca desidia permittat culpabiliter multos hereticos in sua diocesi delitere, sicut faciunt illi qui fovent hereticos propter lucrum.

Heretical prelates ought to be severely punished by the people of Christ.

In the Old Law they were put to death; in the New, a miracle or the civil power should alone do that. Christ rebuked His disciples when they wished to bring down fire from heaven. The prelates in our time think otherwise.

Sed 3^o arguitur principaliter per hoc quod heretici sunt severius castigandi. Si ergo predicti prelati supponi debent esse heretici, debent a populo castigari. Consequens foret nimis turbativum ecclesie. Hic dicitur quod illud consequens debet concedi et praticari. Pro quo notandum quod in lege veteri heretici debuerunt occidi, ut patet levitici 14. Et hinc sacerdotes et pharisei, imponentes Cristo blasphemiam, dixerunt Joh. 19. *Nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori*. Secundum legem novam non legi hereticum a cristiano iudicialiter occidendum, sed secundum dei miraculum (ut patet de Anania et Zaphira, Act. 5^o), et secundum leges civiles. Cristus autem videtur docere luc. 9. quod tale iudicium ewangelicum ad mortem non debuit exerceri; sed, impressa misericordia et memoria finalis iudicii, talia debent servari usque ad finale regis Cristi iudicium, de quo Mat. 25^o. Unde luce 9 legitur, quomodo *facies Jesu erat cum discipulis suis versus ierusalem* et samaritani propterea ipsos abiecerant, Jacobus autem et Johannes dixerunt, *Domine, vis, dicamus ut descendat ignis de celo et consumat eos, sicut Elias fecit? Et conversus increpavit eos, dicens: Nescitis, cuius spiritus estis; filius enim hominis non venit animas perdere sed salvare*. Satrape vero non per ignem de celo, sed per ignem scelestum sepe comburant fideles, quia eis displicent arguendo. Ac si dicerent "oportet nos propter nostrum civile dominium legem Cristi differre et pena alia mixtim civili et mixtim prophetica vindicare; quia, cum sumus dii in terris, iudicamus istum prescitum eternis ignibus comburendum". Et sic anticristus extollitur super Cristum.

Joan. XIX, 7

Math. XXV, 31-46
Luc. IX, 52-57

How heretics are to be dealt with: Scripture, in four places, says distinctly that they should be avoided.

Si autem queratur qua pena debet puniri hereticus, dicitur quod Cristus Mt. 18. prohibet comunicacionem cum illo, quando precipit quod *sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus*. Et idem docet ewangelista, Joh. mandans quod *nec ave ei dixeritis*; quia dicendo ei *ave* comunicat operibus eius ex consensu. Et 3^o apostolus precipit Thymoteo *hereticum devitare*. Causam autem huius

L. Math. XVIII, 17
2 Joan. I, 10
Tit. III, 10

1. permittit AC. 2. licere A; delirere C. 3. dicti BC. 4. penſai A. 5. quod deest C. 6. 15. 5 deest B. 7. Cristi deest B. 8. helias C. 9. eis deest B; ib. ac^{to} B. 10. diceret A. 11. desuper pro differre A. 12. deferre C. 13. 14 A. 14. 38. 39. communicabitur BC.

²Thess. pene convertit generaliter 2 Tess. 3^o. *Si quis, inquit,*
^{III, 11} *non obedit verbo nostro per epistolam, hunc notate, et*
^{43^b} *non comisceamini | cum illo, ut confundatur.* Ista autem
⁵ lex de punitione heretici foret sufficiens, nisi subintro-
 ductus fuerit legifer anticristus. Et si queritur quis erit
 iudex exequens istam legem contra hereticos, dicitur
 quod persona ecclesie secundum quodcumque membrum
 ad hoc sufficiat. Exemplum autem secundum quod
 iudicabitur, est scriptura quam omnes fideles debent
¹⁰ cognoscere.

Every member
 of the Church
 should be
 judge, and the
 standard to
 judge by, Holy
 Writ.

Sed dubitatur de gradu comunicacionis et modo
 iudicandi hereticum. Videtur autem quod opera declinancia a vita et mandatis Cristi sufficiunt ad illud iudicium. Nam opera plus debent credi quam paliatum
¹⁵ eciam pape iudicium, quia illi non debet credi, nisi de quanto fideliter vincitur ex opere et scriptura. Si autem sit sententia que non scitur notorie ad scripturam consequens vel repugnans iudici, debet de illa silentium tamquam falsa. Illa autem que concernunt mores, ut
²⁰ peccata publica, debent omnimode suspendi. In clerico autem qui debet esse elemosinarius secularis brachii obturari debet per negacionem temporalis suffragii. Cum Joh. ewangelista dicat in eius secunda epistola. *Si quis venit ad vos et doctrinam Cristi non affert, nolite eum*
²⁵ *recipere in domum nec ave ei dixeritis;* ubi patet quod exigitur doctrina veritatis tam vita quam verbo. Et excluditur ab apostatis domicilium et comunicacio verbalis; et multo magis supererrogacio elemosine preter necessarie. Videtur enim quod necessitas vite penalis
^{M. 30} debet dari in ultima necessitate, quantumcunque inimicis ecclesie, quia Roman. 12 dicitur: *Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum; si sitit, potum da illi.* Quod intelligitur de necessitate ultima, modo dicto; quoad illam partem ecclesie que ad hoc sufficit.

Deeds contrary
 to the life of
 Christ and his
 law, ought to
 suffice for a
 sentence; and
 if any were
 neither in
 agreement with
 nor contrary to
 that, the
 faithful should
 suspend their
 judgment.

No indulgence
 is to be shown
 to public
 sinners, and
 the clergy, if
 heretic, should
 be denied
 subsistence
 beyond the
 barest needs of
 penitential life.

³⁵ Sed difficultas perplexa videtur, quomodo laici ministrare debent cardinalibus et aliis clericis notorie degenerantibus a Cristo in decimis et aliis elemosinis in principio limitatis. Et videtur quod contraveniens excommunicatur, incarcerationatur et diffamatur tamquam
⁴⁰ hereticus. Et confirmari potest modus agendi, ex hoc quod

A difficulty:
 whether the
 faithful may
 pay tithes, etc.
 to bad priests
 and prelates, on
 account of the
 consequences
 of refusal:

9. quem B. 11. de pro et B. 18. illo omnes MSS.; ib. similitudinem A.
 19. hñ B. 20. omnino B. 25. dom; dominum A. 29. accit^o (sic) C.
 29. 30. Videtur — quantumcunque deest AB. 31. 32. inimicus tuus
 deest B.

secular
superiors exact
their dues,
whether their
life is good or
not.
Negated; by
doing so, they
would incur
excommuni-
cation, and the
cardinals, &c.,
have no civil
dues to exact.

potentatus seculi exigit a suo subiecto servicium debitum, quantumcunque irregulariter vixerit, cum inferioris non interest de vita superioris discutere. Hic dicitur quod debent stare regule ewangelii in clericis modo dicto. Et quantum ad excommunicacionem debet populus et specia- 5 liter superiores constanter resistere, scientes quod propter huiusmodi desidiam incurrerent excommunicacionem a domino; et ista est una de maximis ruinis religionis quam per anticristum diabolus introduxit, ut sepe dictum est in materia de excommunicacione cecante populum. 10 Et quantum ad argumentum factum per locum *a simili*, patet, quod est *simialis* argucia, nisi doceatur quod cardinales et alii clerici super elemosinis secularium et bonis pauperum civiliter dominantur. Aliter enim omnem legem cassaret exaccio. Lex enim iniqua non est lex. 15 Conceditur tamen quod tirranni, exigendo redditus a subditis, peccant mortaliter, sicut faciunt quidquid aliud faciendo. Ideo nimis foret diabolicum quod clerus extorqueret sacrilege spolia a subditis per hunc locum *a simili*. Vulgus enim debet pati iniuriam a seculari potente, 20 et ab ipocrita elemosinas suas subtrahere.

Alms should
not become the
spoils of the
greedy; and if
a secular lord
permits this,
he weakens his
own power, for
the apostates
no longer
consider these
as alms, but as
a right, and set
themselves
above him;
temporalities
are called
spiritual goods,
that he may
fear to take
them back.

While abbots
are multiplied,
Christ our
abbot's life is
less esteemed;

Quod sic talis elemosina pervertitur in rapinam, ve seculari domino qui ex desidia tam permittit invalescere istam rabiem anticristi! Ex hoc enim inperficet suam regaliā sive dominium, cum principalis sua servitus 25 deo sit potenter regere subditos secundum legem Cristi contra refugam. Ipse enim vendicat dominantes, abiecto titulo elemosine, tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus super omnes seculares dominos presidere. Et sic, sicut conquirendo de alio brachio temporalia, baptisat 30 ea spiritualia, ut eorum detencio plus a secularibus timeatur; sic cum eis sophisticat in sacramento eucaristie et qualicunque ministerio sacerdotis.

Causa autem, quare religio ista dissolvitur, quia multiplicatis abbatibus ad vitam et legem ablatis Cristi 35 minus attenditur. Et cum iuxta conclusionem Augustini certissimam (in *de vera religione*, ubi narrat de passionibus quas Cristus exemplo nostri pertulit; notat enim quod

1. fbo A; subdito B; sibjecto C. 4. stare regle A. 5. excommuni-
cacione C. 8. nimis pro ruinis C. 12. symcalis C. 14. enim
secundum omnem C. 23. tm = tantum C. 25. reglam C. 26. pa-
tenter B.

nullum peccatum committi potest, nisi dum appetuntur
 ea que ipse contempsit, aut fugiuntur ea que ipse
 sustinuit); ista igitur fides de vita Cristi et eius imita-
 cione in moribus indubie per anticristum est extincta.
 5 Cristus enim docuit suos mundum relinquere; et ideo
 tam vita quam verbo possessionem terrenorum deseruit.
 Anticristus autem econtra trahit ad infima, cum con-
 nectit se cum illis, tam mente quam corpore. Intricat
 autem se cum laicis, sic quod necessitati sunt per clerum
 10 tam exemplo operis quam egencia corporalis sustenta-
 tionis, nimis attendere ad terrena. Sic quod, ubi clerus
 Cristi multipliciter traxit homines ad ascensum, clerus
 anticristi traxit multiplicius ad descensum.

sin consists in
 acting against
 His example,
 but Antichrist
 reverses that
 example in
 every way.

2. ea *deest* AC. 7, 8. convertit B. 9. ad *pro* per B. 10. car-
 nalis A. 13. ad descensum *do pekla in marg.* C.

CAPITULUM SEXTUM.

The Bishop's
yoke is the
third torment
of the Church:
they have
enlarged on the
name of the
priesthood, but
narrowed its
spirit. Affection
for temporal
things augments
our esteem for
them, and
conversely: a
wrong
appreciation of
these is at the
root of all
impiety.

The clergy,
chiefly the
Bishops, their
leaders, require
to be kept in
the right way
by the temporal
lords resuming
their
endowments.

| Tercius tortor est iugum episcoporum, qui omnes, ^{44*}
sive vocentur patriarche. sive metropolitani. sive archi-
episcopi, sive episcopi, querunt sua, et per consequens
temporalia, non eterna. Omnes enim illi, dilatati in nomine, ⁵
fuerunt per Christum astricti unitati simplici nomine
sacerdotis, sive presbyteri; sic quod nomen quoad mun-
dum dispergitur, sed affeccio instar inferni coarctatur.
Necesse quidem est ut illud in quo fides et affeccio pro-
prietarii spiritus preponderanter infigitur, in reputacione ¹⁰
tanti nominis dilatatur. Ideo necesse est ut fides et affec-
cio curtata et astricta circa temporalia propinqua sensui,
magnificet illa in reputacione et affeccione; quia natu-
raliter virtus agit forcius in obiectum, cui applicatur
distinccius. Quo contra, colligata mente, fide et spe cum ¹⁵
celestibus et eternis remotis a sensibus, necesse est ut
vere magnificet et preponderet illa cum suis circum-
stanciis, cum in tali obiecto vero naturaliter delectatur.
Et hoc ratio quare Augustinus in *de vera religione*
determinat quod tota irreligiositas vianis infigitur super ²⁰
fantasia falaci et falsa ymaginacione temporalium, celesti-
bus condicionis opposite pretermissis.

Cum autem episcopi debent ducere coream huius
religionis ecclesie, patet quam necessarium est ipsos, con-
temptis temporalibus, celestibus aspirare. Unde domini ²⁵
temporales tenentur errorem suum corrigere in dotando
clerum in temporalibus et prius episcopos. Pro cuius
supposito declarando, supponitur quod clerus ex secu-

1. Cap^m 6^m in black ink A; 6 red ink C. 2. Tortor tercius red ink in marg. C. 5. dilati C. 6. unico A. 8. curtatur A. 11. animi BC. 12. curatur A. 21. figura pro falsa A. 22. condicione A; ib. apposite A. 23. necessari A; est Jeest A. 25. conspirare B. 27. primo BC. 28. suppono C.

ritate affluentie temporalium turgescit superbia, torpescit accidia, et omnino nimis respicit temporalia cupiditate earum percussus, et sic ad spiritualiter lucrificandum sibi ac populo exemplando vitam Christi propterea retardatus.

which burden them in the discharge of their functions.

5 Istud est per se notum fidelibus, licet blasfemi dicant Christum melius egisse affluendo temporali dominio et preficiendo suos apostolos in gloriosissimo dominio quoad mundum. Sed solum infideles discipuli anticristi solempnisant istam sententiam.

This evident truth could be disputed only by an infidel.

B. 10 Supposito igitur hoc fundamento fidei, et supposita veritate facti, scilicet quod post Christi ascensionem clerici ex ceca pietate dominorum secularium sunt dotati; patet 3^o quod domini temporales debent errorem istum satisfaciendo corrigere, cum ad delecionem peccati requi-
15 ritur peccatorum satisfaccio. Persone igitur brachii secularis, a qua ablatum est iniuste, civile dominium debet restitui. Licet enim possibile sit omnem hominem meritorie renunciare civili dominio, tamen iniustum est omnino onerare clerum ipso, cum sit contra mandatum
20 domini. Multa enim possunt licite pretermitti, quibus positis, oportet ipsa personis capacibus limitari; ut non uxorari est licitum, et tamen, supposito matrimonio seculari, illicitum est clericum abuti uxore; et multo
25 magis seculari dominio, licet possessor hoc fatue concedat. Titulo tamen temporalis elemosine licet communicare clerico indigenti.

Admitting this, and that the clergy did wrong in accepting temporalities, they must be compelled to restitution.

Nec obest, sed consonat caritatis regulis invite auferre iniuste possessa a clericis, licet furiose reclamantibus et excommunicantibus; quia talis exheredacio secularium
30 est mala, ut docet Augustinus 179. in fine; et 23 q. 4 ca^o.

This is not unjust, being for the good of their souls, as Augustine testifies.

Nimium. Ex testimonio Augustini docetur practica. Si, inquam, inimicum suum quisquam periculosis febribus freneticum factum currere videret in preceps, non tunc
pocius malum pro malo redderet, si sic cum ire per-
35 mitteret, quam si corrigendum curandumque ligaret? et tamen tunc ei molestissimus et adversissimus videretur, quando ei utilissimus et misericordissimus extitisset;

It is charity to restrain an enemy if sick and delirious, in spite of protestations; if he recovers, he will be grateful, and it is a duty in any case.

2. omnes A; omnino et C. 3. ad *deest* A. 4. hac pp^o C; *ib.* exemplandum C. 6. melius *deest* C; *ib.* afficiendo B. 11. sancti spiritus *pro* facti scilicet AB. 11. delecionem A. 15. peccatorem satisfacere AC; *ib.* autem *pro* igitur A. 17. impossibile A. 21. capaci^s A; capitibus B. 30. Xth sic, q. li. B; 179 *deest* B; *ib.* 24 B. 31. Nota in *marg.* A; *ib.* Augustini *deest* B. 36. cum *omnes* MSS; *ib.* molestius B. 37. quando — extitisset *deest* B.

sed plane, salute reparata, tanto uberius ei gracias ageret quam minus ei pepercisse sensisset. Atque quia quibusdam ista non prosunt, numquid ideo negligenda medicina, quia non multorum est sanabilis pestilencia? Ideo, non omnis qui parcit amicus est, nec omnis qui vulnerat 5 inimicus. *Meliora enim sunt vulnere amici, quam oscula inimici.* Melius quidem est cum severitate diligere quam cum lenitate decipere. Utilius enim esurienti panis tollitur, si de cibo securus iusticiam negligat, quam esuriente panis frangitur, ut iniusticie seductus adquiescat. Putas 10 neminem debere cogi ad iusticiam, cum legas patrem familias dixisse servis: *Quoscumque inveneritis cogite intrare?* Proy. XXVII, 5
Luc. XIV, 23

The present scandal of endowments is maintained only by fallacies, either assuming that it was the intention of the founders that things should be as they are, or that the fact of the gift disinterests the heirs.

Ex istis cum facto patet quam spissim lex Cristi et C. sic Cristus spernitur, et Anticristi tradicio exaltatur. Sed 15 psal. 20. scribitur: *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* Ad Ps. II, 3 tantum enim diabolus seduxit Cristi ecclesiam quod fideles timent sibi exequi legem Cristi propter fallacias anticristi: fallacias, dico, quia impossibile est arguere quod clero Cristi dominacio civilis sit debita, quin 20 argumentum deficiat in materia vel in forma; quia nunc falsum assumitur, quod mundi principes ordinarunt clerum Cristi taliter dominari, et nunc ex ordinatione elemosine perpetue informaliter concluditur quod licet clericis secularissime consumere elemosinas eis datas. 25 Primum quidem est falsum, cum mundi principes non ordinarunt, sed perturbarunt; non concesserunt 44^b sed presumpserunt contra legem dei hec fieri; et ex titulo elemosine (quam oportet intelligi) manifeste infertur cum veris, quod seculares domini impedire 30 debent ne discoli suis elemosinis taliter abutantur. Licet autem eis de suis elemosinis iustificandis intromittere, quia aliter non remanerent elemosine. Sed ad elacionem persone, que foret spiritualior et magis extranea, habent interesse, ut patet ex lege papali et facto; ergo multo 35 magis ad faciendum propriam elemosinam conformiter legi dei. Non enim est anticristus cum lege sua excelencior Jesu Cristo, sed cum ipse voluit bona secularium remanere sibi elemosinas in libera potestate eorum, eciam ad subtrahendum, ut innuitur Math. 21, manifestum 40

Which last is evidently false, since they appoint to benefices; and, if interested on one point, they are so on all.

1. ulterius A. 4. non nullorum AC. 8. nempe pro enim C.
12. cogitare B. 16. et proiciamus etc. C. 20. quare C. 21. in
before forma deest BC. 24. informit C. 30. ve'is A; vis B. 33. elec-
cionem BC. 34. pape pro persone C. 39. libertate A.

est quod anticristus non tolleret a secularibus illam carnalis elemosine libertatem.

Nec dubium quin sancte mulieres et viri, de quorum elemosinis sustentabatur Jesus Christus carnaliter, magis
 5 exhinc meruerant quam si per impossibile Christum ac suos apostolos cum eorum seculari dominio occupassent: sic, inquam, dantes clero usum temporalium, deo dante dominium ewangelicum, ac exonerantes eos de imperfectione terreni domini secundum legem Christi, bene-
 10 faciunt elemosinando clerum de sorte domini. Quod si iniuriuntur illis, onerando eos dominio temporalium, subvertendo blasfeme legem dei, non dubium quin, ex iniuria facta deo et toti ecclesie, necesse est ut clerus sic dampnificatus retribuat secularibus sic dampnifi-
 15 cantibus malicie recompensam. Invincibilis quidem lex dei exigit quod irrationabiliter offendens in alium virtute divina ex eo dampnificabitur porporcionaliter ut nocuit suo leso. Deus enim est in qualibet creatura, retribuens cuilibet quod est iustum.

D. 20 Unde hec est ratio quare *Jordanis conversus est*
 Ps. *retrosum*, cum episcopi, qui solebant chatechisare et
 CXIII, benedicere subiectos, iam infideliter subvertuntur ad
 3 seculum et voce ac opere maledicunt; qui olim solebant obsecrare iam execrant, et qui olim solebant
 25 gignere filios dei per ewangelium iam parturiunt filios diaboli per dogma contrarium. Ideo necesse est anticristum turbare populum. Ista, inquam, infidelitas, licet fides sibi contraria remaneat ceteris incognita, est causa totius perturbacionis in seculo. Et, quomodo-
 30 cunque tortores isti sophisticent, dampnificatur populus insensibiliter in spiritualibus, et sensibiliter in temporalibus inequaliter distributis. Necesse quidem est ut episcopis occupantibus bona temporalia, que deus dat
 35 toti ecclesie in mensura, residuum ecclesie angariaretur penuria. Nec cessabit diabolus ad hoc inconueniens, sed faciet quod tumultuabitur plebs contra nobiles, iuvenes contra senes, et breviter unusquisque contra reliquum, cum duces sint contrarii deo, toti ecclesie ac eciam sibi ipsis. Et sic, nisi deus in brachio seculari adiuerit,
 40 sequetur dissipacio populi cristiani, quod demon prin-

The holy women who supplied Christ with alms did better than if they had given Him their property; so do all who act likewise.

But the harm done to the clergy by such endowments is amply punished by the harm done to those who made them, according to God's unchangeable law.

This is why we now see bishops giving curses for blessings, and begetting sons of the devil.

This is also the reason of the present troubles.

Worldly possessions are limited: if the clergy have too much, the other classes have too little,

and the devil will therefore cause a general revolt, everybody against everybody; and without God's help, all will be destroyed.

5. *m̃corat* = memorant A. 20. Hic nota *red ink in marg.* A;
ib. quare *deest* A; *ib.* *Jordanis* C. 21. cathetificare C. 31. in — sensi-
 biliter *deest* A. 33. bona *deest* C; *ib.* temporaliter A.

cialiter intendit. Ideo claret ex fide quodulare brachium, cum accusatur a deo in isto crimine, debet sub pena dampnationis, corrigendo errata, satisfacere.

The objections against this doctrine spring from false piety, wishing to honour religion; but Christ on earth rejected all such honour.

Nec decipiat ceca pietas qua diabolus suggerit quod ista mundana gloria Cristo tribuitur; quia, quando *cum hominibus conversatus est*, talem gloriam in se et suis discipulis non expecit, sed aufugit. Non enim potuit armoniam proporcionis mundanorum dissolvere, quam trinitas posuit in sua domo quoad distributionem temporalium remanere; sed ita moderate vixit de elemosinis secularium, quod conversacio sua, lex sua et educacio suorum discipulorum debuit esse cunctis fidelibus, et specialiter clericis, de sorte sua speculum et exemplum. Ideo dico cum apostolo seculari brachio corporis Christi, illud Eph. 5. *Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis*. Multi-
plicati sunt autem quidam fratres discipuli anticristi qui palliant sumptuosas basilicas ac alta edificia atque splendencia, tam in fratribus quam monachis; palliant eorum larga et lauta cibaria. Et primum, per locum *a maiori*, cum Salomon construxit templum, ac alia
edificia cum suis apparatibus sumptuosis. Ergo, inquit, per locum *a maiori* in lege maioris gracie, dum ecclesia est propinquior glorie beatitudinis, maiori gloria debet splendescere. Sed isti *insensati gallathe* volunt monstruose onerare Christi ecclesiam cum cerimoniis legis antique, dimissis Christi consiliis; et sic, tamquam alter Sergius, seductor Machometi, volunt eligere carni placencia de lege utraque et displicencia transaltare. Sed infidelis, sic *duplex animo* secundum interiorem hominem cecatus, *inconstans est in omnibus viis suis*. Ignorat enim infidelitate cecatus vim totam arguendi per locum *a maiori*; cum sequitur per locum *a maiori*, ut Christus docuit, quod dimissa ista solempnitate sensibili, pascente famem sensus extrinseci, intendat fidelis secundum interiorem hominem ornari et pasci virtutibus; cum constat ex fide quod quilibet virtus moralis sit infinitum melior quam omnes divicie vel omnia inanimati corporis ornamenta. Ideo, cum via virtutum sit ad regnum pro-

Baruch.
III, 38

Some Friars, disciples of Antichrist, excuse these things; their splendid churches, because Solomon built the Temple, and the new law giving greater grace, its churches should be more splendid;

but these foolish Galatians forget that the argument *a maiori* should rather make us follow Christ's example of contempt for external things.

E.
Gal.
III, 1

Jac. I, 8

45^a

4. suggerit *deest* A. 5. tota ista C. 16. autem *deest* C. 24. insensato C. 31. a maiori per locum A. 34. saniam A; *ib.* extrinsecos omnes MSS. 37. in anima A. 38. regimen B.

27. Sergius and Mahomet are often alluded to in Wyclif's writings. See *De Apostasia*, p. 67, l. 23.

pinquior, ac vita expropriaria cum exclusione artificiorum sit innocencie statui similior, nec non et Cristus dei virtus sit in vita, verbo et opere huiusmodi sensui inclinacior: abiciamus ritus carnales legis veteris, et induamur virtutes illis operibus solempnibus factas.

Et ista est responsio Jeronimi, ut patet 12 cf. 2^a cap. *Gloria episcopali*, ad istam arguciam anticristi. Oportet enim iuxta istam stulticiam onerare episcopos nostros cum 66 reginis et 100 concubinis et adolescentularum innumerabili comitiva: et sic blasfeme stultificare sapienciam incarnatam. Teneamus igitur fidem, et non scandalisemus nostros prelatos ex hoc quod non secuntur in isto ritus nupabiles Salomonis.

Quantum ad secundum, patet quod est *excusacio* anticristi in peccatis; non enim fit aliquid tam male ab aliquo homine quin cedat ad commodum, quia, ad rom. 8 dicit Cristus in suo apostolo, *Timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. Ideo, si licet monachis habere tam ampla fercula, quia tot bona contingit ex illis fieri, nichil omnino foret illicitum, cum occasione cuiuscunque peccati luciferi eveniunt ecclesie maiora bona quam talis corporalis elemosina, si contingat. Oportet igitur attendere ad modum facti, ad auctorisationem domini, et ad occasionem mali datam, quod inde evenit; et tunc invenietur quod excessus modi a gula exigitur, auctorisacio facti a spiritu gule conficitur. Et fructus proveniens est pauperum spoliacio, fundatorum quoad elemosinas suas fraudacio, vescencium ingurgitacio et residuum furancium multiformis dissipacio. Et certum est quod talia cum raptura religionis sunt fructus peccati.

F. Unde tales excusatores excedunt Scarioth in peccato. De ipso enim legitur, Mt. 14. quomodo Scarioth et alii indignabantur Magdalene, frementes in ipsam propter hoc quod effudit super Cristum moriturum in proximo *alabastrum unguenti nardi spicati preciosi*; poterat, inquit, Matth. XXVI, *bastrum unguenti nardi spicati preciosi*; poterat, inquit, they do not

So let us lay the old Law aside, as St. Jerome says.

The argument if urged, would give each bishop a number of wives and concubines.

Those who excuse the sumptuous fare of the monks because they do good, should remember that this would excuse any excess just as well. Good has accompanied even the sin of Lucifer. All this is mere gluttony.

And it results in spoliation, fraud, greediness, and robbery.

Men who excuse such things are worse than Iscariot, indignant against Magdalen: they do not

1. 2. artificum omnes MSS. 5. corporalibus A; ib. solemnitatibus B; corporalibus solempnibus C. 9. centum pro 66 B; ib. concubinarum B;

ib. et de A. 10. coitua = coitiva A. 12. sequi C. 15. ad pro aliquid A. 16. homine deest C. 18. 90pan² C. 20. accione A. 24. ad deest C. 27. est deest C. 30. cum deest B. 33. magnitudine A.

6. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XII, qu. 2, c. 71. 14. The excuse itself is not given, but it must have been similar to that of a French monk who, rebuked for his high living, answered: *Je soutiens le religieux pour soutenir la religion*.

even think how
many could be
fed for the cost
of one such
feast.

unguentum istud venundari plus quam trecentis denariis et dari pauperibus. Isti autem non indignabantur pro quanto excessus sui cibarii superfluous posset vendi et dari pauperibus cibus grossior, utilius et levius preparatus. Sed querentes ex cibo superfluo mundanam gloriam post voluptuosam nauseam, non tam expresse paliant progenis; utrique tamen in isto conveniunt quod preciosum oleum caritatis, quod prope mortem debet effundi super caput ecclesie (hoc est sacerdotes) subtrahitur, et refrigerescente caritate multorum in os et carnes melancolicas commutatur.

They cry out:
Heresy! when
that poverty, to
which they
pretend
themselves, is
pointed out as
a duty to the
clergy: they
say that the
same man can
be a member
of Christ and
of the devil;
and thus, Christ
being his
members,
Christ is the
devil.

Et pseudofrater apostatantes cum Scarioth palliant partem anticristi, precipue ut hic: dicunt heresim fidelibus qui dicunt totum clerum debere vivere expropriarie sicut Christus instituit, et ut fratres fingunt quod in hoc clericos possessionatos exsuperant, et tamen ex duplicitate vulpina dicunt quod quicumque predia cleri abstulerit, maledicatur eo facto. Hic autem sic miscent membra Christi et principis huius mundi, quod dicunt eandem personam simul et semel esse membrum Christi atque diaboli, ut secundum hanc duplicem sortem posset participare duplici participio horum patrum. Apostolus autem abhorret quod quis fiat *membrum Christi et meretricis*, et multo magis Christi et diaboli. *Que rogo communicacio Christi ad Belial*, ut participet sic in membris, ut desponsent eandem feminam, et ut Christus sit ipsemet diabolus? Christus enim est quodammodo quodlibet membrum suum, et sic de diabolo et membris eius, ut patet de Scarioth: et sic infertur quod Christus sit ipse diabolus. Sed quid magis abhorreret pietas cristiana?

² Cor.
VI, 15

It is impossible
for a
'foreknown' to
be a member
of Christ, or
for an elect
not to be so:
though the one
may be now in
a state of grace,
and the other
in mortal sin.

Et quantum ad argucias quibus cece concluditur ista vesania, patet fidelibus quomodo impossibile est de membro diaboli fieri membrum Christi, sicut non potest de predestinato prescitus fieri, nec econtra; sed licet predestinatus non potest esse prescitus et econtra, sicut prescitus potest esse in gracia secundum presentem

6. palliant C. 10. multos AC. 19. h⁹di = huiusmodi A. 21. et C. 21, 22. participare C. 23. abhorruit B. 25. convencio A. 29. suis C. 31. sed pro sicut A. 36. non deest omnes MSS. 36, 37. et = esse deest A.

28. *Quodlibet membrum suum.* Figuratively, but really on account of that very figure, according to Wyclif's doctrine of the reality of Universals.

iusticiam, et stat predestinatum esse in mortale secundum presentem iusticiam, impossibile est tamen primum talem esse membrum Cristi, sicut impossibile est secundum talem esse membrum diaboli, quia impossibile
 5 est primum talem mereri merito finalis perseverancie; sicut impossibile est secundum talem peccare peccato

G. finalis impenitencie. Tales igitur ignari apostate infrigidant caritatem corporis Cristi secundum propheciam
 Matth. XXIV, suam Matth. 24: *Refrigescet caritas multorum*. Testatur
 12 enim naturalis experientia, quod positis duobus vasis
 45^b in aura | gelida, uno pleno aqua frigida et alio pleno aqua quantumcunque calida, illa aqua cicius congelatur. Cuius causa est, quia exalaciones gelide intrant spissim per poros fumositatum evaporantium, et spissim con-
 15 gelant ad intra: quod deest aque que non sic bulitur. Sic mistice prescitus religiosus vane ardet caritate ad

tempus in populo, sed cupiditate temporalium gelidorum per yppocrisim facit conceptus et affectus gelidos subintrare in populo: et ita cicius caritas talis populi
 20 congelatur, quam amor populi pure gentilis quem deus preservat pure lumine naturali. Et ista videtur sententia Cristi, Matth. 13. ubi ait: *Cum immundus spiritus exierit ab homine etc.* Sicud, inquam, sacerdotes, scribe et pharisei erant tempore viacionis Cristi pessimi, sic
 25 videtur hodie quod generacio cleri, sparsa terrenis affectibus, expirata puritate religionis Cristi, sit pessima simpliciter; quia septem apostaticis simulacionibus dant introitum anticristo, qui sic congelat et immobilitat multum populum; quod in eis gravatur affectus ut non
 30 currat sermo dei in eis et distillent opera caritatis.

Concedat igitur deus, quod totus populus sit unius
 Ps. religionis, exclusis istis exalacionibus gelidis, ut vir unus;
 CXXXII, sic quod de illis verificetur istud psalmo 132. *Ecce*
 1 *quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum.*
 35 *Sicut unguentum in capite, quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron.* Aaron, inquam, figurat summum episcopum, qui supra mensuram habet unguentum gracie

These apostates resemble water that having been hot, freezes more quickly than cold water, the cold entering through its dilated pores; so they, having been fervent for a time, make the charity of the people to freeze.

They are like him into whom seven devils entered for one cast out; or like the priests in the time of Christ.

God grant that the whole people, saved from these bad influences, be united in charity, which like the ointment on Aaron's head, descends from Christ to the

3. ecclesie Cristi C. 5. est deest A. 7. ignari deest A. 8. per pro secundum B. 12. quatul3 C. 15. bullitur (sic) C. 16. arderet C. 22. parabat A; perambulabat struck out B; parabolat pro ait C. 27. septemplexiter apostatis dant simulacionibus B; septem apostasiis dant simulacionibus C. 29. in deest A; ib. alleccio BC. 30. c'r at (= currat) A; curat A; ib. et distillent in eis B. 31. populus deest AC. 32. elacionibus B. 33. illud C. 34. etc. pro et — unum A. 35. Nota in marg. A; ib. barba B; beati pro barbam A.

clergy, thence
to the nobility,
and thence to
the common
people.

And as for
those who
hinder this
union, let them
be stoned
without the
camp, i. e. lose
their temporal
possessions.
If the spiritual
salt lose its
taste, form and
preserving
power, it should
be cast out, as
the blasphemers
of old.

These excuses
being worthless,
men should not
allow a friar to
tempt them to
give him aid,
when the friar
is more able to
do the like for
them.

et caritatis; *De cuius plenitudine nos omnes accepimus*,
ut dicitur Joh. 1^o. Ab isto, inquam, capite huius abbatis Jo. I, 16
descendit gracia in clerum Cristi, ut apostolos et eorum
discipulos, cum sit barba Aaron superior. Et iterum
descendit hoc oleum ad barbam inferiorem, quia ad 5
dominos seculares. Sed 3^o descendit ad 3^{am} partem
ecclesie, scilicet populares, eciam ad abiectissimum
genus vulgarium, cum subditur, quod *descendit in oram*
vestimenti eius. Isti autem qui debent esse de barba
superiori, impediunt predictum oleum distillare, dum 10
propter longitudinem pilorum, impediens cibacionem
ecclesie, depauperando calorem interioris hominis, non
sufficiunt dissolvere oleum congelatum. Ideo non restat H.
nisi educere blasphemum extra castra et omnino facere
ut ippocrita lapidetur a toto populo; non materiali 15
lapide, sed sententia verbi dei et subtraccione bonorum
fortune, in quibus tantum blasfemiat; quia, iuxta Cristi
testimonium Mt. 5. *Si sal evanuerit, ad nichilum valet* Matth.
ultra, nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus. V, 13
Sal indubie debent esse apostoli et cuncti presbiteri, 20
quia calorem caritatis conceptum pro tempore sue
spiritualis generacionis debent constanter in forma
primeva servare, ut lapides virtutem; eciam cibos anime
condiendi superflua ac putrida prescindendi, et per
consequens vermes et impressiones extraneas excludendi. 25
Quod si dissoluti fuerint a forma lapidis et virtute sic
condiendi et aruerint, quid valent nisi ut obiective
paciantur tamquam blasfemi, quos populus lapidat extra
castra?

Et nota quoscunque huius secte; et vel ignorant 30
(cecati a deo eorum) in cuius nomine blasfemant, vel
stulte blaterant ad sui dispendium. Si enim excusacio
fratrum in casu isto sit invalida, manifeste sequitur
quod nulli cristiani debent opitulari fratribus ad con-
struendum talia edificia vel ducendum talem vitam tam 35
difformem a Cristo. Sic quod quilibet temptatus a
fratre ad perpetrandum hoc facinus, potest pertinenter
dicere temptatori illud Math. 16.. ubi scriptum est de Matth.
Cristo: *vade post me sathana; non sapis ea que dei sunt.* XVI, 23
Est enim talis apostata plus Cristo adversarius in vita 40

3—5, gracia — hoc oleum *deest* A. 6, duos C. 8, horam B.
18, nichil C. 22, generacionis spiritualis C. 26, lapides AC. 27, et
struck out B; *ib.* aruerunt C; *ib.* valet A; *ib.* abiective A. 31, interior
pro in cuius B. 32, blactrant A; blaterant C. 33, valida A.
35, beneficia B. 40, adversans BC; *ib.* in vita *in marg.* A.

et legibus, quam tunc ex pietate ceca fuerat Petrus. Sunt etiam, sicut omnes peccatores, contrarii sibi ipsis; quia extorquent ipsoe pite temporalia a secularibus, de ipsis edoctis quod consonantius foret fratres retribuere 5 eis temporalia, quam e contra. Ipsi enim plus egent in seculo, quam fratres in clauetro. Fratres debent amplius habundare caritate; et undequaque est consonantius quod fratres egent et quod in secularibus quorum officium est circa hec bona fortune in ipsis ex- 10 uberent. Ideo contra caritatem foret perfeccionem fratrum extinguere et se ipsos de sibi debito spoliare.

Si vero ultima necessitas simuletur, erit duplex remedium. Primo, vendendo bona residencia que ad hoc, secundum Ambrosium, ut recitatur 12 q. 2^a ca^o *Aurum* 15 *habet ecclesia*, remanent in thesauro. Secundum remedium est quod dissolvatur et subtilietur religio expropriaria; et sic vivant de laboricio, instar apostoli vel aliunde, ut persone ordinis nostri; tunc enim perficerentur, ut 1. patet ex dictis; et forent minus onerosi ecclesie. Unde 20 videntur peccare graviter qui foveant eos in discolia huiusmodi et retardant ab ordine quem Christus instituit et profectu ecclesie; sic quod improvida distributio bonorum fortune ex ceco titulo elemosine facit nimis magnam perturbacionem ecclesie: ut patet tam in 25 possessionatis quam in mendicantibus. Ideo ista materia debet laciis explanari. |

46^a Sed inventa est quedam ars nova diaboli quod, displicente tractatu cuiuscunque materie fidei, et deficientibus argumentis, procuretur excommunicacio ferenda 30 in omnes illam materiam pertractantes. Et ut factum sit coloracius, adducuntur 6 vel 7^{tem} veritatis emuli in conclavi, et ipsi hereticant veritatem que eis displicet; et in testimonium sigilla sua aponunt: ut VII doctores dicuntur Oxonie non introisse *pretorium ut non contaminarentur, sed ut dampnarent corpus Christi non esse substantialiter in sacramento paschali*. Unde certum est quod corpus Christi accidentaliter est in illo,

If they should teign to be in absolute want, their goods should be sold, as they belong to the treasure of the Church; and, the Orders being abolished, they should be made to work.

Some, when they have no arguments against a doctrine, proceed to condemn it, like the 7 doctors at Oxford, who have denied that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament, not knowing what the Sacrament is.

Jo.
XVIII,
28

6. dicunt A. 8. quam *pro* quod *before* fratres A. 9. tota B; *ib.* in ipsis *deest* A. 9, 10. exhiberent BC. 12. *pro* erit C. 13. primum C; *ib.* vedendo A. 15. thau^{ro} AC. 20. graviter *deest* AC. 22. p^{tem} A; protectum B. 31. oxoniis C. 31, 35. non ut non BC. 35. dampnent C.

14. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XII, q. 2, c. 70.

et ipsum non esse substancialiter ibidem, nisi forte, ut quidam doctores locuntur equivocando in adverbio, vocando *substancialiter* "modo substancie". Sed, ut distinguitur contra *accidentaliter*, certum est quod corpus Christi non est substancialiter in illo, quia non secundum 5

What it is, is an article of faith about which many heresies abound; *how* it is, is not.

They do not know or they dare not speak of the one; they cry aloud about the other with lies.

But when asked what those appearances are, which are adored, they are mute.

se, ut dicit Jeron. Ideo longe melius esset hiis satrapis adiscere quid est hoc sacramentum, antequam tracterent quomodo corpus Christi est in illo. Circa primum enim pululant hereses; et, secundum, quoad fidem explicatum, est inpertinens fidei cristiane. Unde licet in primo 10 (quod est fidei) pululent tot hereses, tamen dicti satrape in illo mutescant vecorditer, nec iuxtaponunt fidem suam cum fide ipsius contraria; vel ideo indubie quia nesciunt vel non audent. Peripsimata autem fidei exposite non audent arguendo sed excommunicando corro- 15 dere; et tamen, cum tota ista vecordi ignorancia cervicem erigunt cum clamore, cum mendaciis, et aliis diverticulis anticristi, ac si defenderent sanam partem. Sed quando queritur utrum ille panis consecratus sit corpus Christi necne, cum multi fideles adorant ipsum 20 ut corpus Christi, et illa fides ex testimonio scripture et expositione sanctorum dispergitur: ibidem stabat Johanes, et verecunde obmutuit. Augustinus autem super Joh. omel. 26 vere dicit quod illud sacramentum est cibus corporalis, eciam quod Cristus dixit panem 25 esse corpus suum. Nam Joh. 6 dicit ipse qui mentiri K. non potest: *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita. Panem, inquam, fregit et dedit discipulis* VI, 52 suis, quem asseruit esse corpus suum, ut patet in ewangelio Math. 26 et Marc. 14. Luce 22 et Paulus 1^a 30 cor. 10. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre istam fidem

Yet it is clearly stated that the bread is Christ's body, in several of the Gospels and Epistles.

2. equivoce B. 7. addiscere C; *ib.* sit C. 8. quidem B. 9. pululant C; *ib.* explicata B; explicitam C. 13. ipsius C. 14. peripsima B; pipima A C. 14, 15. exponite A. 16. ignoram C. 18. suam pro sanam A. 20. aut ne A. 23. obmutuit B; *ib.* Augustinus in marg. B. 25. et pro eciam C. 26. esse deest A. 29. esse deest A. 30. Pauli C. 31. Et c A; Et deest B; *ib.* cum pro tamen A; *ib.* et tamen falsam C; *ib.* falsarii — fidem deest B.

3. This is an allusion to St. Thomas, who employs that very expression in his *Summa Theologica*. Other doctors may also have used the same term. 23. The same expression occurs in *De Apostasia*, p. 58, l. 4; also in a Lollard poem, printed in *Monumenta Franciscana*, Ed. Brewer, p. 598. It would even seem to be a quotation from the poem, alluding to the discomfiture of a certain *Johannes Wellis*: *Wellis replicabat; — Sed postquam Nicol solverat, tunc Johannes stabat.*

- ecclesie parvipendunt. Talibus ergo conventiculis, qui
 conspirant tam multipliciter contra legem domini non
 debet quis fuco elemosine aliquid erogare; licet tamen
 relevare personas egencium in casu quo signa fidelitatis
 5 in ipsis appareant; quia, secundum fidem: *Si* etiam
 Rom. *esurierit inimicus tuus*, concurrentibus rationis paribus,
 XII, 20 *ciba illum*. Scola autem Cristi est consentanea; sed
 scola sathane est semper contraria sibi ipsi, quia
 finis prime est unitas et fructus secunde discordia.
 10 Nostra autem religio appetit quoscunque esse de nostro
 ordine et, exclusa quacunque novitate extranea, tenere
 libere vitam Cristi. Religiones autem invente sunt sibi
 ipsis contrarie; et una fovet partem alterius, que est sibi
 opposita. Ideo oportet quod vir sic *duplex animo sit incon-*
 15 *stans in omnibus viis suis*; licet enim fratres unius ordinis
 odiunt fratres et religionem alterius, etiam possessionati
 detestantur mendicationem fratrum, et ipsi e contra
 eorum dotacionem ac diviciarum accumulacionem
 perpetuam; tamen tangente homine communiter eorum
 I. Luc. versucias, *facti sunt amici herodes et pilatus*, contra
 XXIII, 12 veritatis dominium, etiam contra proprios ordines
 conspirantes; ut fratres confitentur tacite quod ad
 continuandum perfeccionem paupertatis Cristi, ad decorem
 ecclesie sunt ipsi a domino introducti. Et tamen contra
 25 tangentes errorem eorum blaterant quod est ad
 magnam perfeccionem cleri talis dotacio, cum sit tam
 necessaria sicut fuit potestas faciendi miracula in
 ecclesia primitiva. Et isti parti consenciant in facto tam
 fratres simplices exempti habundantes in proprio, quam
 30 integra communitas eorum, que habet inproprie nequius
 quam una persona simplex; et sunt tacite contradictorii
 sibi ipsis. Et per consequens *non est conveniens eorum*
 Marc. *testimonium* adjuvandum sese reciproce, cum sint tantum
 XIV, 59 contrarii sibi ipsis.
 35 Et in illo patet prima subversio ecclesie, in quibus
 prima pateret conversacio: quod videtur figurari per
 interpretacionem quam attribuit Jeron. phariseis. "Phari-
 seus", inquit, "interpretatur divisus, vel dividens, seu

As for these
schools of
conspirators
against Christ's
law, they should
be punished by
all alms being
cut off.

Our religion is
the imitation of
Christ's life:
there is full of
novelties and
rivalries; friars
hate friars;
monks hate
mendicants and
vice versa: yet
they all join
against us when
we wish to
bring back the
beauty of early
Christianity.

But this very
union is a fresh
contradiction,
and thus their
testimony is of
no value.

And in them
we may thus
see the decay
of the Church:
Pharisee means
the *separated*,
dividing,

1. igitur C. 9. primi C; *ib.* 21 = secundi A. 16. fratres *deest* A;
 religionem B; et *deest omnes* MSS. 18. eorum *deest* C. 25. blactrant A;
 blatarant C. 26. clericis A; talis *deest* A. 30. habent B; h3 C.
 35. illis A. 36. primo C.

20. Same poem, three verses before: *Hic amici facti sunt
 Herodes et Pilatus.*

*violent, or
dissipating
ones.*

The first monks
were *separated*
from the people
by their
holiness.

Afterwards,
they *divided*
that same
people.

The first were
violent against
the flesh, and
won Heaven.

Now they
dissipate the
goods of the
poor and cast
away Christ's
law.

But offending
against Christ,
they strike the
rock upon
which they
shall be broken.

As for the
Bishops, they
should be the
overseers of the
people, keeping
them in proper
purity, poverty
and obedience;
and set the
example:

i. e. of spiritual
chastity through
love of Christ
above all;

violentus aut dissipans''. Primo, inquam, fuerunt religiosi nostri pharisei, i. e. divisi a populo secundum excellenciam differencie sanctitatis vite. Sed posterius perverso ordine in declinacione ad seculum facti sunt dividentes populum Cristi ad deum huius seculi; quia Prov. 6 pro-⁵ phetatur de istis apostatis quod *omni tempore iurgia seminant*. Iterum primo violentando corpus suum pena I. voluntaria, rapuerunt regnum celorum cum baptista, secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 11. *A tempore Johannis regnum celorum | vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud*. Modo autem decernendo effigies, nulli pascuntur delicacius; nec gravantur inepcius, ut per alleviacionem corporis sapiant regnum dei; sed perversi ad carnem et seculum dissipant legem Cristi; sic quod de cassacione consumpcionis bonorum pauperum et de spoliacione ipsorum ab eis dicere potest devotus ecclesie illud psal. 118. *Tempus faciendi, domine; dissipaverunt legem tuam*. Ad tantum quidem blasfemarunt in Cristum, quod iam est tempus impediendi eos ulterius insanire. Dicunt enim dicti pharisei quod secuntur Cristum in vita²⁰ similime: et cum ventris ingluvies, terrena cupiditas, et fastus mundane glorie contradicunt, patet quante in facto scandalisant Cristum humanitus et blasfemant ipsum divinitus. Nec dubium quin oportet eos offendentes in hunc lapidem immobilem precipitanter offe-²⁵ dere; et illa contrapaccio est pessima scandalisacio. Ideo dicit Cristus Mat. 11. *Beatus qui non fuerit scandalisatus in me*. Nam omnis nominetenus cristianus qui adversatur vie domini scandalisatur in Cristum; et beatus (sed rarus est ille) qui in isto amodo non blasfemat.³⁰

Episcopi autem debent esse superintendentes populo; ut, servata religione cristiana, teneant se in limitibus³⁵ legis religionis, scilicet castitatis, paupertatis et obediencie, que secundum dicta primo capitulo debent consequi quemlibet cristianum; nec circa aliud debet³⁵ versari episcopale officium. Sicut igitur *cepit facere et docere*, ita debent episcopi in se servare hec tria pre-^{Act. 1, 1} cipue et facere ut in subditis observentur. Castitas autem spiritualis est maxime ponderanda, cum contrariatur

Matth.
XI, 12
10 40^b

Ps.
CXVIII,
126

Matth.
XI, 6

6. in omni A. 9. inquam pro secundum C. 12. alienacionem B;
alleviacionem C. 13. corpus A. 21. sihe A. 26. passiva BC.
28. teneo A; ib. cristianus deest B. 31. dicunt A. 33. lige AC.
34. per B. 36. Sic pro sicut BC; ib. ergo B. 38. et deest AC.
39. cui C.

spiritualis fornicacio, que fit quandocunque super
 amorem Christi inducitur amor temporalium vel
 hostis 3^{is} plus amati. Et illam castitatem tenetur omnis
 catholicus observare. Quantum ad paupertatem, patet
 5 etiam quod omnis homo debet esse mendicus dei,
 petendo panem cottidianum cottidie: et sic debet
 recogitare se esse servum ballivum, dispensatorem domus
 dei, et accommodarium eius, etiam imperator et
 quantumcunque magnus dominus temporalis. Istam
 10 autem fidem de paupertate cum suis appendiciis debet
 M. cristianus tenere et docere, sed presul potissime. Quo
 ad obedienciam, patet quod omnis cristianus tenetur
 obedire domino nostro Jesu Cristo, cum sit caput
 totius ecclesie. Obediencia vero sibi debita stat in imple-
 15 cione illius quod ipse mandat et consulit. Illa autem
 est summa obediencia, sine qua quecunque humana
 foret superflua, cum iuxta dicta primo capitulo sit
 precise de tanto laudabilis de quanto promovet ad
 obedienciam Jesu nostri. Cum igitur totum episcopale
 20 officium stat in observancia et doctrina huius religionis
 triplicis, nec docetur efficaciter nisi primitus observetur;
 patet quam necessarium est episcopum disponi ad
 observanciam huius legis. Ad quod requiritur quod
 instar Cristi et apostolorum sit quocunque sibi subdito
 25 superior. Nam aliter foret ineptus ad docendum suos
 subditos hanc doctrinam.

Unde videtur quod domini seculares sic dotantes
 suos presbyteros stulte dampnificant se et ipsos.
 Indisponunt enim ipsos ad observandum istam religionem
 30 triplicem et populum efficaciter docendum; et sic
 dampnificant multipliciter semetipsos. Primo in hoc
 quod exhereditant se a seculari dominio quod presul
 suus iniuste occupat. Secundo in hoc quod ex cecitate
 perturbant rem publicam. Deus enim aptavit medie
 35 parti ecclesie certam mensuram et numerum; et eis
 appropriavit certam mensuram secularis domini. Ideo,
 cum disrumpunt hunc ordinem, necesse est quod
 seculares circumpalpitent, perturbando ecclesiam. Et
 tercio in hoc potissime, quod tantum blasfeme cecatur
 40 populus, quod credit inpugnando ordinacionem divinam

of poverty, we
 all being
 beggars of daily
 bread from
 God, and
 temporal lords
 only bailiffs;

and of
 obedience to
 Christ, and to
 others in so far
 as that is an aid
 to the former.

To teach them
 these virtues
 the Bishop must
 be better than
 they.

Hence rulers
 should not
 endow, for they
 render priests
 unable to teach
 by example.

They unjustly
 detain what is
 not theirs.

They trouble
 the State,
 usurping the
 functions of
 seculars.

And they blind
 the people, so
 that, fighting
 against God,
 they think to
 do good.

6. quottidianum omni die C. 8. accomodacionem A. 9. magnus
 deest C. 14. complecione C. 19. obediendum A; *ib.* Cristi *pro* nostri B;
ib. ihu cristi domini nostri C. 21. ut *pro* nec C. 27. docentes B.
 30. edocendum C. 31. Et prius B.

Yet the
steward that
resists his
lord's will
displeases him;
and they are
no more.

sibi meritorie obedire. Sed ballivus cum bonis domini et contra preceptum suum onerando et ligando, indisponens servum alium ad perficiendum domini officium, per quod reciproce iuvaretur, displicet domino et se ipsum dampnificat ac conservos. Et hec creditur ratio 5 quare clerus, sic repugnando secularibus (iusto dei iudicio), ipsos spiritualiter nocendo inpedit et e contra. Et ista est generalis perturbacio in illis que debent esse duo brachia matris ecclesie iuvancia se et matrem; ad tantum enim cecavit diabolus obturatione temporalium 10 anticristi discipulos, quod defendunt blasfeme nec licere seculari brachio errorem suum in isto corrigere, nec dextrum brachium, quantumcunque infirmum fuerit, adiuvere. Sed tunc indubie utrumque brachium, et per consequens totum corpus illius ecclesie malignantium 15 est irremissibiliter condemnatum.

2. onerans BC. 4. iuvarentur B. 14. brachium *deest* C.

CAPITULUM SEPTIMUM.

A. Sequitur 4^{tus} tortor, scilicet Archidiaconus, cuius nomen contigit esse patri suo episcopo Scarioth correspondens. Cum ergo ille, ex fide scripture, Joh. 12. sit mere
 47^a 5 diabolus, | patet quod inter omnes ministros talis episcopi talis eius minister sit archidiabolus. In cuius signum, dimisso ministrandi officio, circa bona minima ipse et episcopus contendunt communiter.

Arch-deacons are arch-devils, their father being bishop Judas, a devil.

Debet enim archidiaconus, instar Stephani, Laurencii,
 10 et diaconorum similium, ministrare in missa suo episcopo, predicare in populo legem Cristi, et omnino supplere vicem prelati sui. ut simplex religio cristiana in subditis conservetur. Et idem est iudicium de omnibus subordinatis membris cleri Cristi. Sed in
 15 officio dicuntur perversi et consequenter membra hominis peccati; utputa, dimissis istis officiis, contendunt pro mamona ubi debent inserere verbum dei; in comparando sibi ipsis ornamenta secularia, ubi debent sollicitari circa cultum religiosum sui episcopi.

The Arch-deacon's duty is to serve his Bishop's Mass, preach, and see to Divine service; but many care only for money and ornaments.

20 Et multe sunt leges humane rationabiles, licet abrogentur hodie vel glosentur, que docent quod archidiaconus non debet esse onerosus ecclesie in personis, in pedagiis, nec in equis; ut VII^{em} equos non debet excedere, nec sine regis licencia subditos spoliare, ut patet 3^o decre-
 25 talium de censibus ca^o *Cum apostolus* Et cap.^o *Innovamus*. Sed cautela diaboli ex negligencia principum contigit oppositum. Ideo non mirum, si hoc vergit ad dissencionem atque destruccionem regnorum: fidelis enim expectat consumacionem istorum, cum iniurie particulares

There are laws forbidding him to have a numerous retinue, more than seven horses, or to extort money without the king's leave.

But they are obsolete, and the abuses become gradually greater and greater.

1. Cap. etc. *deest*. 2. Initial *S* in red ink A. 5. It's (*sic*).
 6. archidiaconus AB. 7. *mī*^a A. 17. parando B; operando C.
 27. 9^t A; contingit BC.

25. The decree *Cum Apostolus* is not to be found. *Innovamus* is in Decr. Grat. 1^a Pars, Dist. LX, c. 3.

guttatim fuerint congregate. Sicut enim aque rivales congregantur in fossa ad tantum quod demum fossa disrumpitur; sic est de particularibus peccatis regnorum ab episcopis incorrectis.

One point is the insufficiency of the fines, as a punishment of sin; the Church grows fat, but the evils are greater.

When the old severe laws were in force, sins were checked; now that it is allowed to offend God for money, they increase.

All seculars who do not oppose these abuses are responsible for them; and they may be likened to traitors;

for to permit such treason against God is to be a traitor to Him.

Instead of enquiring about profit, and particulars of worldly wealth,

Peccatum autem non corrigitur, sed gravatur, dum 5
tortor, prelatus aliis, spoliat sceleratissime sibi subiectos
et animat eos ex parvipensione minuti amerciamenti ad
frequencius delinquendum. Sic enim dicit diabolus in suis
proverbiis quod levis spoliatio pingues facit raptores.
Dimissa ergo est lex antiqua de suspensione, de deposicione 10
et de temporalium comunicacione cum sacerdote fornicario
vel aliter criminoso; et tunc emendabantur crimina
sacerdotum et populi. Sed modo, dum per anticristos inducitur
quod dei iniuria symoniace et proditorie sit venalis,
peccatum non corrigitur, sed late extenditur et gravatur. 15

Extenditur, inquam, usque ad regem et totum populum,
ad minimum ex consensu. Si, inquam, abhomin- B.
abilis proditor regis terreni contra regalem regis et
eius liberos conspirantiis foveretur et defenderetur in
regno, nonne vere diceretur quod fovens atque con- 20
senciens sit regis proditor, non solum extra regis protectionem
ponendus, sed trahendus atrociter et finaliter occidendus?
Multo magis anticristi, servi diaboli et regis Cristi comixti,
gignentes et defendentes Cristi adversarios contra ipsum.
Cum enim regalia deo propria 25
sit incorrigibiliter vindicare iniurias, patet quod nitens
tollere vel obfuscare istam vindictam procurat pro diabolo
proditorie contra Cristum. Seculares itaque, qui tales
permittunt vel quomodocunque consenciant sunt in dampnacione
consimili, et causa prodicionis regni; 30
quia necesse est ut regnum, sic comixtim divisum anticristi
tyronibus et Cristi discipulis, desoletur. Debent enim prelati
in suis visitacionibus prudenter predicare Cristum, non
segniter scrutari questum; mederi morbos

1. congregare A. 2, 3. de fosso disrumpuntur A. 7. amat A; *ib.* ini-
mici AB. 8. d^t A; docet B. 10. igitur C. 12. notorie criminoso C.
18. regulam C. 19. labores A. 20. nomine A. 23. et in *omnes* MSS.
30. perdicionis B. 31. commixtim C; *ib.* divisim B. 34. fructificari A.

10. Slight fines for offences committed brought, it would seem, more money, on the same principle on which the Penny Post brings an increase of revenue in the present day. 12. It is well to notice here that Wyclif was, according to Lingard, a priest of absolutely irreproachable life himself. No wonder therefore that he is indignant against the lenity with which 'sacerdotes fornicarii' were treated.

anime, non primo notare defectus ornamentorum codicum, domatis vel fenestre. Hoc enim subiacet laicorum officio. Nec debet prelatus notare quomodo (per se vel per tortores subditos) predetur de subiectis plurem peccuniam; 5 sed quomodo et quante contra diabolum partem fortificet cristianam.

the Bishops ought in their visits to attend to the souls of their flocks.

Sunt autem duo funes rostrati quos diabolus complicit sub vicario anticristo. Primus enim funis demoniaci terroris, scilicet excommunicacio. Et 2^{us} est funis ficti amoris, scilicet absolucio; cum istis duobus funibus 10 complicitis traxit anticristus cum membris suis pusillos et magnos, cautela diaboli tenebratos, ad magistrum suum Leviathan.

Two cords by which the Devil and Antichrist drag souls to Hell: that of false terror: excommunication: and that of false love: absolution.

De excommunicacione vero dictum est alibi, quomodo 15 sumitur nunc active, nunc passive communius; et hoc tripliciter; vel a deo, vel ab homine, vel utrinque. Omnis itaque prescitus est perpetuo excommunicatus a deo, quomodocunque benedictus fuerit ab homine.

Excommunication, active or passive, may proceed from God, man or both.

Quilibet eciam criminosus excommunicatur a deo secundum 20 presentem iusticiam. Et quandoque contigit hominem excommunicare deo conformiter; utputa, quando ex caritate Num. excommunicat quem deus excommunicat; et quandoque deo XXIII, difformiter, sive *maledixerit cui deus benedixerit*, sive 8 maledixerit maledicto a deo perverso animo. Oportet

Every 'fore-known' is excommunicated for ever, and many elect for a time, by God.

25 enim quod excommunicator concordet cum deo in causa et modo. In causa, ut excommunicet propter eandem causam propter quam deus prius excommunicat. In modo vero concordat cum deo, cum Deus caritas est, quando excommunicat eciam excommunicatum a deo iuxta

Man may excommunicate rightly, if his sentence agrees in cause and motive with that of God's, and proceeds from charity; if one of these requisites be absent, he only excommunicates himself.

C. 30 regulam caritatis. Si ergo a regula ista deviat, tunc se ipsum excommunicat; ut excommunicans propter vindictam habendam, vel propter peccuniam, vel possessionem proximi rapiendam. In hoc enim deficit a modo, quo prima caritas excommunicat. Excommunicacio autem 47^b 35 passiva | sophisticatur multipliciter: ut dicit quandoque exclusionem a communione fidelium, ne quis participet eorum meritis: quod deo est proprium et datum homini fideliter promulgare. Quandoque autem dicit penam spiritualem vel subtraccionem spiritualis suffragii;

Passive excommunication means either separation from all share in the merits of the faithful, or a spiritual punishment, as being refused the sacraments;

1. ornamentorum *deest* A. 2. jacet B. 4. subditis *pro* subiectis BC. 7. rastrati B. 8. suo B; *ib.* est C. 11. trahit BC. 14. Nota de excommunicacione *in marg.* B. 16. utrinque AB. 23. diforit' A. 27-29. In — excommunicat *deest* A. 30. igitur C. 32. passionem A. 36. ut *pro* ne omnes MSS. 38. enim B.

and banishment,
v. g. of saints
by tyrants, is
also a sort of
excommuni-
cation.

By another sort
of excommuni-
cation, with
vociferations,
bells and
candles, still
more
blasphemous
and hurtful to
those who
employ it.

they claim to
lay a ban even
on the land and
the elements
near the
accursed, with
the power of
Christ who, as
God, blasted
the fig-tree for
a sign.

They say that
this power,
belonging to the
patriarchs and
still more to the
Apostles, has
come down to
them as their
successors.

But all power is
Christ's; and
he will give no
power, save

quomodo Paulus excommunicavit corinthum fornicarium, tradendo ipsum sathane; et quomodo multi excluduntur a societate sanctorum et percepcione sacramentorum, quibus spiritualiter iuvarentur. Et in isto consistit magna sophisticacio: ut tyrannus, proscribendo suum legium, quandoque excludit ab eo societatem in qua tam active quam passive amplius mereretur; et talis excommunicacio est maxime in regibus et mundi potentibus; ut patet de exulacione sanctorum.

Sed alia excommunicacio fingitur qua prelatus, scribendo 10 et vociferando, cum candelis accensis et campanis sinistre pulsatis et aliis solempnibus adinventis. Et inter omnes adinventiones diaboli citissime blasphematur in hoc fune, cum sicut instrumentum rastratum ledit et lacerat abutentem, sic et rastratur et leditur ipse qui abutitur 15 isto funiculo. Et ista cautela est potissima inter discipulos anticristi contra cristicolas; sicut Judicum 4^o Judic. IV, 3 legitur chananeos pugnasse contra israelitas falcatis curribus. Excecarunt autem populum, hortantes eos credere ut ewangelium quod, eo ipso quo post incan- 20 taciones suas sic excommunicaverint quemquam, maledicitur totum adiacens ad multa miliaria undiquaque. Et in hoc magnificantur supra Cristum; ipse enim maledixit ficui in figuram, licet non demeruit, ut patet Matth. 21; quia est plenus dominus cuilibet creature; ideo iustum est quod quelibet creatura ad nutum sibi subserviat. Anticristus autem pretendit se maledicere elementis propter causam Cristi, quia cristicola non wult parere, in causa diaboli, anticristo. Talis, inquam, maledicitur cum tota creatura adiacente per 7^{em} miliaria 30 circumquaque.

Et ad hoc finguntur evidencie ex lege veteri, ubi legitur tam benedictio quam maledictio patriarchis concessa et amplius concessa apostolis: quare ergo non presentibus prelati, qui in potestate parificantur eciam 35 sancto Petro, cum deus semper meliorando procedit? Sed dicitur huic stulte demencie anticristi, quod ipse D. non habet potestatem nisi a Cristo; nec Cristus dat cuiquam potestatem, nisi ad sequendum ipsum et

Judic.
IV, 3

Matth.
XXI, 19

1. excommunicat A. 3. participacione C. 7. meretur AB. 8. est e A.
9. exclusionem B. 14. rostratum A. 15. sicut A; ib. in se ipso A.
18. pugnare C. 10. Excecarunt C. 23. magnificatur A. 26. ut quem-
libet A; ut quelibet C. 28. electis AB. 29. cum anticristo B;
cum deest C.

faciendum sibi et legi sue conformiter. Ideo debet in primis Cristum recognoscere et secundum voluntatem suam facere; a quo si deviat, sciat quod potestatem blasfeme vendicat. Ideo faciat patribus antiquis plene
 5 similiter; et tunc potest de tanto potestatem consimilem vendicare. Sed simeales argucie anticristi excecant plurimos, credentes quod Cristus deficeret sue ecclesie, nisi daret istis prelatis tantam huiusmodi potestatem. Ideo, cum deest tam ratio quam operatio quibus
 10 potestas ista doceretur, mandant subiectis ut fidem hoc credere.

Et sic illuduntur ydiote perfidia potestatis, sicut illuditur de sacramento altaris. Ibidem enim fingunt sine ratione vel auctoritate infinita miracula, ad que
 15 non necessitat ratio vel auctoritas vel experientia; quia ponunt perverse quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto. Et sicut blasphemant deum tantum maledicere sine causa, sic blasphemant quod deus omnino destruit materialem substantiam panis et vini, remanente
 20 sine causa nuda essentia accidentis. Et sicut fingunt quod panis non potest remanere et fieri corpus Christi, sic fingunt quod quis non potest fieri prelatus sub tali nomine, nisi habuerit tam fictam diabolicam potestatem.

Utrobique ergo rimandi sunt limites ad quos stat
 25 finaliter excommunicatio huiusmodi; scilicet, quid mali ad maximum excommunicato ingeritur. Et cum non quietantur in expulsione corporali a basilica vel conversancium comitiva (quia hoc posset secularis facere), fingunt quod deus eo ipso odit quem excommunicant in
 30 subtrahendo gratiam, comunicat rebus vicinis potestatem

to follow his law; which they must first know and follow, before setting forward such pretensions, by which many are blinded.

Parallel between these practices and the doctrine of the Eucharist.

Both imply endless miracles without motive, authority or proof; both imply an evil action of God upon corporeal elements; and as bread cannot become Christ's body if it remains, neither can a man become a prelate without having this power.

As they claim not only the power of expelling from the Church, but also of withdrawing grace and inflicting

4. plane A. 9. tanta A. 10. mandat C. 15. vel *deest* after ratio C.
 17. sic C. 20. sic C. 21. 22. remanere — potest *deest* C. 26. ex-
 communicatus AB. 29. adicit A.

24. It is well known that many abuses accompanied the practice of excommunication by bishops, which is, I believe, no longer allowed. In the *Life of Saint Louis*, by Joinville, there is a striking passage that illustrates the abuse and at the same time the independence of mind of the saintly King. A certain Bishop was urging him, for conscience' sake, to oblige all such as were excommunicated to submit and receive absolution. But the King at once pointed out the case of a man who, having a lawsuit against a Bishop, was excommunicated by him, appealed to Rome, and after seven years, gained his suit. "If I had compelled him to submit", said Saint Louis, "I should evidently in this case have acted unjustly".

bodily harm by vindicandi; et ista est maniaca blasfemia. Habet autem
 their curse, we sacerdos 3^{em} potenciam excommunicandi. Primo occi-
 must note that dendo vel tradendo sathane personam quam deus pre-
 one power — cipit taliter cruciari; ut patet de Petro et Paulo, Act. 5
 that of slaying or delivering to Satan — is no
 more theirs than et prima Cor. 5. Talis autem potestas deficit prelati
 the raising of nostris hodie, sicut deficit potestas suscitandi mortuos,
 the dead. et sanandi demoniacos. Secundum genus excommunica-
 Another — that of separating
 the offender, cionis est, dum patet notorie infectiva malicia peccatoris
 lest he do harm notorii, interdicitur (pro cavendo periculo), quod comu-
 — can be nicet cum grege domini. Et licet sacerdotes debeant ex
 exercised by the flock better
 than by the maiori prudentia exercere illud officium, tamen videtur
 priest, if he be michi quod. ipsis perversis, hoc magis pertinet ad secu-
 perverse; lares prudentes; cum illud sacramentum non requirit
 in excommunicante tantam virtutem vel vim numinis.
 and it were Immo, videtur hortandum per modum consilii quod
 well if a bad worldly priest secularis vel fidelis non comunicet cum presbitero vel
 were thus ex- prelato cesareo, qui vivit symoniace vel seculariter; cum,
 communicated; sive excommunicando, sive sacramenta ministrando, vel
 for he is orando, vel quidquam aliud faciendo, inficit se et suos.
 hurtful in all that he does. Ideo, nisi deus ordinasset fidelibus suis sacerdotem
 in eternum dominum Jesum Cristum, olym per istam
 venenosam duodenam destructa fuisset ecclesia. Tales
 enim prelati, sive sint pape, cardinales vel episcopi, vel
 eorum ministri, plus officiunt quam proficiunt; cum directe
 officiunt, sed non proficiunt, nisi forsitan indirecte. Quidam
 And some indeed hold
 themselves aloof
 from such hypocrites,
 whom a dread
 judgment
 awaits. enim ex gracia dei, cum vident quod isti qui fingunt se
 Cristi vicarios tantum exorbitant, et quanta pena pro
 ippocritis qui nec dicunt nec faciunt, sed obligantur ad
 utrumque, sit divino iudicio preparata, nituntur istos
 meritorie conculcare et per viam contrariam transmeare.
 Another sort of 3^m genus excommunicandi ex speciali revelacione
 excommunica- ostenditur, quando deus revelat fideli vel intoxica-
 tion may take cionem vel reprobacionem quam prescitus infert ecclesie,
 place when it et ex illo prenosticat talem esse a fidelibus ut ex-
 is revealed that communicatum fugiendum. Et istud in generali docetur
 such a one does much evil to the Church, being
 a castaway; Matth. 18, quod quilibet fidelis fugiat peccantem in eum
 post ternam correpcionem *sicut ethnicum et publicanum*.
 but great
 prudence ought
 to be exercised
 here, and
 (unless the
 contrary is
 revealed) we Nec videtur michi quod aliquis prefigeret terminum
 crimini excommunicationis huiusmodi, nisi sibi fuerit
 specialiter revelatum; quia notum est quod licet comu-
 nicare cum sceleratissimo, gracia convertendi; cavendo

2. 3^{plex} genus excommunicationis in marg. B: ib. potestatem C.
 5. et prima Cor. 5 deest AB. 23. vel deest C. 33. interret BC.
 36. ecclesia pro cum A. 40, 41. excomca'e C.

semper de consensu sextuplici et intendendo promovere ad obedienciam legis Cristi. Sic enim fideles servi stant cum sceleratis dominis, sperando quod eorum ministerio convertentur; quia aliter videtur quod scientes dominorum suorum nequiciam forent dampnabiles ex consensu.

may communicate with the worst, but only for their good.

Quis, inquam, scit si deus convertat quantumcunque sceleratum, ut comunicacio cum eo prosit ecclesie?

We can never be sure that a man is a castaway, and have no right to fix a time for his conversion.

Sic enim Paulus blasfemus conversus est ad magnam utilitatem ecclesie, Act. 9^o. Unde videtur quod tempus

10 prefigere ad talem conversionem sit deum temptare; cum

Judith VIII, 10 Judit. 8., scribitur: *Quid est verbum, in quo consensit*

Ozias, ut tradat civitatem Assiriis, si infra quinque dies non venerit adiutorium nobis? Et qui estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam

15 *provocet, sed potius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat.*

Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.

Cum igitur prescitus ignorat tempus conversionis scelerati ad dominum, patet quam blasfemum foret legem

20 statuere sive defendere quod quicumque fuerit excommunicatus a satrapa, censeatur excommunicatus quousque a

tali fuerit absolutus. Non enim timuerunt fideles post instruccionem spiritus sancti communicare cum Paulo;

cum opera sua, sine absolucione huiusmodi, ostenderant

25 conversionem prius notorie blasfemie et ecclesiam persequentis. Sic enim contingeret secundum hanc legem

diabolicam auffugere quantumcunque sanctum per quem deus ordinavit edificare ecclesiam, tanquam scelestum

apostotam: sicut dicitur cardinales horruisse Robertum

30 lyncolnensem tamquam diabolum. Et sic contingeret romanam curiam dampnatos diabolos canonisare et

adorandos mandare; sed sanctos in celo excommunicare et dampnatos reputare, quia plus credunt perverso

satraparum iudicio, quam vivis operibus Jesu Cristi.

35 Nec mirum; quia eorum absolucio et excommunicacio

A 'foreknown' cannot know if a sinner will be converted; why then accept the excommunication of one who may be foreknown?

The faithful communicated with Paul before he was absolved: which, according to the law, they should not have done. Saints are excommunicated, devils canonized; and this because of venality.

3. d'mis dñs pro dominis A. 6. sit B. 8. Sicut pro sic omnes MSS.
11. Quod AB. 13-15. temptatis — furorem in marg. A.
15. accendant A. 22. plus A. 31. Romam AB. 32. adorantes A.
33. repugnare B.

29. Grosseteste, whose independence of character and resistance to certain arrangements made by the Pope, is well known, must have been looked upon with scant favour in Rome. Wyclif however, possibly exaggerates this feeling, when he describes him as being very near excommunication.

A robber can force them to absolve him, and what they would do for fear of losing, they would do for the hope of getting money; yet a perfect man should be ready to die rather than commit such deceitful and scandalous sacrilege.

est ita venalis ut asinus; ymmo predones pessimi possunt ab eis extorquere absolucionem et a pena et a culpa, pro timore servili; sicut beneficiorum collaciones, sacramentorum ministraciones, et quantumcunque spiritualia opera pretenderent se facere pro edificacione ecclesie; 5 quia quando basis officii est venalis, omnia ad illam consequencia esse venalia implicatur. Nec finget homo quod talis absolucio non est vendibilis, licet pro violencia poterit extorqueri; quia ille qui dat absolucionem huiusmodi, cuius blasphemiam posset pro mille marcis 10 evadere, vellet eandem vendere pro tantumdem pecunie, cum fides flagitat quod pro nulla amissione temporalium, nec pro pena corporis inferenda, consentiret perfectus tali dacioni absolucionis; cum deus exhinc blasphematur, absolutus periculose decipitur, et per consequens auctori- 15 sans hoc facinus dampnabiliter scandalisatur.

Such venality is a proof that absolutions are of no value; so excommunication can do no harm. And their blessings are like that with which they make the sacramental bread of infinitely worse nature than it was.

Talis ergo venalitas beneficiorum et absolucionum et privilegiorum indicat quod non valent, et per consequens excommunicaciones et alie censure fite non nocent passis, nisi ut pro spolianda peccunia terreant ydiotas. 20 Ymmo, sicut benedicunt panem sacramentalem et faciunt virtute benediccionis sue ipsum infinitum esse peiorem naturaliter quam panis non consecratus qui prefuit; sic G. est de benediccionibus, absolucionibus et privilegialibus, quibus illudunt hominibus. Dicunt enim quod panis 25 sacramentalis virtute benediccionis sit sacramentum; et ille, cum sit accidens, est pane qui prefuit infinitum imperfeccior in natura. Nec sunt commendandi ex hoc quod faciunt corpus Cristi esse in illo, quia natura divina prius essencialiter fuit in illo accidente. Et si 30 corpus Cristi sit in tali accidente noviter ad sustentandum ipsum et faciendum miracula, hoc est accione sue benediccionis perverse, sicut deus assistit servo suo roborando ipsum graciosius, dum sibi irronice benedicunt! In omnibus autem istis per patrem mendacii sophisti- 35 catur ecclesia.

A few rules laid down:
1. Excommunication ought to proceed from a spirit of love;

Sed redeundo ad materiam de excommunicacione, ut caucius caveatur anticristi decepcio, pono aliquas conclusiones, | quarum sentencias sepe asserui. Prima: 48^b

1. est *deest* A; *ib.* ita *deest omnes MSS.* 7. ^{91^a} *pro* consequencia A.
11. vel licet *pro* vellet A; *ib.* evadere B; *ib.* tantumdem B. 12. flagitat AC.
17. igitur C; *ib.* et *deest* C. 21. benedictum A. 24. privilegiationibus C.
30, 31. et si — sit *deest* B. 31. yronice C. 35. matrem A.
37. reddendo A.

Nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi propter amorem quem habet ad illum; patet ex fide. Nam nemo debet excommunicare aliquem, nisi ex caritate et in caritate,

1 Cor.
XVI, 14

5 *Omnia vestra in caritate fiant.* Item, nemo debet ex-

communicare aliquem nisi sibi subditum et nisi gracia medicine. Sed nemo debet talem medicinam apponere, nisi gracia caritatis: ergo nemo, debet excommunicare alium, nisi gracia caritatis. Unde signum est quod

10 prelatus specialiter diligit subiectum quem sic excommunicat; vel aliter illum non excommunicat, sed se ipsum.

Unde quidam solent regraciari suis excommunicantibus, quod dignabantur, tam laboriose, tam assidue et tam

Rom.
VIII, 28

specialiter opponere illis medicinam tam validam. Et cum sciunt ex fide apostoli ad Rom. 8. *Quod timentibus deum omnia cooperantur in bonum* sperant quod medicina apposita illis proficiet. Item, si quis debet excommunicatum suum non diligere, potissime foret verum de

20 illo qui excommunicat inimicum. Sed iuxta fidem omnis christianus debet diligere generaliter inimicos, et sic omnis excommunicans suum excommunicatum. Nam ingratus foret medicus carnalis, qui non diligeret suum patientem; multo magis de spirituali medico, qui debet de cura vel diligencia plus premii reportare. Minor

Matth.
V, 43

autem argumenti patet ex diffinitione Christi Matth. 5^o. *Audistis quia dictum est antiquis: "diliges amicum tuum et odio habebis inimicum tuum:" Ego autem dico vobis: diligite inimicos vestros:* quod opere conplevit, in Scarioth et aliis inimicis. Unde, quia medicina excommunicationis

30 per virtutem paciencie successive proficit, stultum foret nimis cito emplastrum excommunicationis sciungere. Sic enim Cristus et sui ad eorum meritum et profectum

H. ecclesie passi sunt excommunicationem Iudeorum. Et Urbanus noster cum suis: utinam meritorie excommuni-

35 cacionem patiat^{ur} gilbonensis! Causa enim spiritualis morbi debet sanari ab intrinseco, si sanetur, ad quod excommunicatus accelerare debet, et deficiente morbo debet sufferre longanimit^{er} medicinam, dum conservat pacienciam et alias virtutes consolidat.

40 Secunda conclusio. Nemo debet excommunicare alium, principaliter propter peccuniam vel aliud sibi proprium,

to be exercised only on those that belong to the jurisdiction, and as spiritual medicine; for which medicine some are wont to thank their physicians.

Even in excommunicating a personal enemy, we ought to love him, as the physician does his patient.

These are Christ's precepts and examples too.

But if such medicine is good, we should not wish to have it soon removed, but bear it with patience, as let us hope that Pope Urban bears the excommunications of Robert of Geneva.

2 It is not right to excommunicate

8. igitur C.
ib. gibbonensis B.
40. condicio AB.

29. excommunicantis AB.
38. longanimitatis A.

35. patitur omnes MSS.;
39. pacivam A.

chiefly on
account of any
temporal
matter; for if
we love all
men as God
loves them, we
shall not prefer
this to their
spiritual
welfare.

All who act
against this
rule of love are
criminal: v. g.
slanderers,
murderers, etc.
God's will
ought to be
ours.

Besides, God
only has the
right to take
vengeance, and
to usurp this
right is to
blaspheme; for
God alone is
the chief Lord
of all, and the
offences done
to others are as
nothing.

General should
be before
private good;
now the honour
of God is the
most universal
good of all;
and all things
were created to
that end alone.

aut propter iniuriam propriam vindicandam. Et ista est conclusio beati Gregorii 23 q. 4 ca^o. *Inter querelas*. Probatur sic: Omnis excommunicans debet diligere suum excommunicatum caritate perfecta secundum conclusionem proximam. Sed eo ipso quod sic, debet non diligere 5 peccuniam aut aliquid temporale, vel vindictam sue iniurie, plus quam personam quam excommunicat; ergo, conclusio vera. Nichil enim est magis contra legem caritatis quam plus diligere temporalia (que homini inexistunt) quam ipsum hominem; quia, cum deus caritas 10 est, et habet ordinem diligendi contrarium, manifestum est quod diligens secundum ordinem duplicem perversum cum diabolo odit deum; et tales sunt detractores, homicide, vel quomodolibet criminosi. Primi enim plus diligunt famam vel voluptatem propriam quam personam cui 15 detrahunt. Homicide plus diligunt bona que occiso adiacent quam vitam persone occise. Et generaliter omne peccatum consistit in perversione amoris ordinati; quia creatura adversatur divine voluntati. Cum igitur non posset ostendi potencius perversio caritatis diligendi 20 proximum quam sic excommunicando, manifestum est quod excommunicatione tali caritas est extincta.

Item, blasphemum est usurpare quod deo est proprium; sed proprium est deo et incommunicabile creature principaliter vindicare suam iniuriam; ergo blasphemum est 25 sic facere. Et cum omnis sic excommunicans ita facit, manifestum est quod omnis sic excommunicans blasfemat. Minor argumenti patet, ex hoc quod cum deus sit summus dominus omnium, omnis creatura debet plus ponderare dei iniuriam, quam iniuriam hominum. Et confirmacio 30 istius est quod generaliter bonum commune est prestantius quam suum privatum. Sed honor dei est bonum communissimum. Sed quilibet honor creature proprius est bonum respectu illius privatum: ergo, honor dei est bonum potius diligendum. In omni enim creatura servante 35 ordinem quem deus instituit, relucet principaliter honor dei; et cum non habet ex se aliunde honorem, mani-

1. vindicandum C. 4. secundum *deest omnes* MSS. 5. quod *deest* B. 6. aut *deest* BC. 12. ordinem secundum C; *ib.* duplicem *deest* AC. 15. quam *pro* cui BC. 16. quo *pro* quia BC. 20. potencius C; *ib.* perverso *omnes* MSS. 23. blasphemie C. 28. quod *deest* C; *ib.* cum *deest* B. 33. commissum AB; *ib.* proprius creature BC. 37. non *deest omnes* MSS.

- festum est quod honor dei est undique principalior et generalior quam honor debitus creature. Plus ergo debet excommunicans zelare pro honore dei quam proprio; ymmo in nullo honorem suum attendere, nisi de quanto
1. 5 honorem dei sonuerit. Item, de lege et natura electionis, magis bonum est preferendum et diligentius observandum; sed magis bonum est quicquid deus preponit precepto vel natura: ergo illud est ab homine preferendum. Sed Deus docet tam natura quam precepto quod bonum
- 10 communius et divinius amplius diligatur: ergo homo debet illi legi intendere. Unde propter rationem istius sentencie, omnes excommunicantes dicunt ypocritice quod
- 49^a bonum intentum | ab eis pro deo principaliter est intentum; cum sciunt quod, sicut veritas sequitur ad sui
- 15 ipsius destruccionem, sic honor dei sequitur ad sui ipsius extinccionis pretensionem, eo quod presumptor talis quicumque punitur proportionaliter ad peccatum, et per consequens in iusta punicione rutilat honor dei. Ideo quicquid vendicant vel excommunicatione puniunt, ideo
- 20 hoc faciunt principaliter, ut honor dei plus luceat. Sed examinemus, rogo, tales yppocritas, cum (secundum eorum principia) plus peccati plus ponderant. Videamus insuper si habita peccunia vel sue proprietati placencius
- 25 plus quietat quam illud quod honori dei foret honorificencius, quia maioris iniurie extinccius. Et factum clamat oppositum, cum, excommunicato quolibet, quantumcunque atrociter, per accumulacionem peccunie potest faciliter emendari, eciam ipso continuante in priori iniuria. Ideo manifestum est quod affeccio per-
- 30 sonalis, amore dei postposito, est in causa. Et ista blasfemia laborat comuniter in excommunicatione qualibet hodierna; quia aliter plus peccantem in legem dei generaliter plus puniret, et per consequens excommunicarent sepe se ipsos. Nec lucrum suum saperet sua
- 35 excommunicacio, posito quod sua vita legi dei amplius contrariet. Non enim est excommunicacio tantum sacramentum, quin possunt ipsam ferre in se ipsis; cum nemo excommunicatur vel leditur, nisi hoc fuerit originaliter a se ipso. Ymmo, sese sacerdos excommunicat
- And we ought always to prefer the greater good, which is what God commands.
- And therefore they all say hypocritically that what they do is done by zeal for God's law; but as truth is proved by its own contradiction, so God's honour is but increased by the attempt to take it away.
- But what as a fact pleases them most is to get money or property rather than satisfy God's honour; for if a man offers a large sum, he will be absolved, even though he should continue to sin.
- They ought to lay their curses on the chiefest sinners, and so excommunicate themselves first.
- As would happen if they

7. quicquid C. 8, 9. ergo — quam *deest* AC. 10. communis A.
 11. rationem *deest* A. 12. dictum A: *ib.* yppocrite A. 14. cum *deest* A.
 18. ista *pro* iusta C. 22. poderatur C. 23. igitur *pro* insuper C:
ib. sue *deest* B; *ib.* proprietate A. 25. extinccio A. 26. quo *pro* cum A.
 32. in lege AB. 34. sepe *deest* A. 35. dei *deest* A. 36. Nemo A;
ib. blank space for tantum B; *deest* C.

excommunicated all blasphemers and all who excommunicated for their own worldly gain. pro furto vel alio crimine, cuius ipse singulariter est reus; ut excommunicando quoscunque qui blasfemant in deum vel qui preponderanter excommunicant pro suo lucro proprio temporali. Hoc enim foret apud deum legitimum, et excommunicatores forent talis malediccionis capaces.⁵ Et forte a papa usque ad excommunicatorem infimum omnes primo se ipsis inficiunt; cum, ablata causa que lucrum vel fastum eis saperet, cessat excommunicacio illorum; et illa causa posita, malediccio diabolica committitur. Ideo non dubium quin malediccio ista excedit¹⁰ K. in malicia malediccionem gentilium; cum Numeri 24 Num. scribitur de Balaam, gentili ariolo: *Si dederit michi XXIV, Balach domum suam plenam argenti et auri, non potero 13 preter sermonem domini dei mei ut vel boni quid vel mali proferam ex corde meo; sed quicquid dixerit michi 15 dominus loquar.* Ideo indubie, iuxta ewangelium (Matth. 12). Matth. Balaam surget in iudicio et condempnabit generacionem XII, 42 istam, que blasfeme maledicit cui deus benedicit, et e contra; quia non dubium quin *extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus*, sicut generacio pessime anticristi. 20

3. God's law ought not to be forsaken on account of man's curses; on the contrary, such curses bringing a blessing and falling back on those that utter them, we should bear them with patience and even with joy. 3^a conclusio. Nemo debet propter excommunicacionem huiusmodi declinare ab observancia legis dei. Scimus enim quod deus est omnipotens, et anticristus sophista dampnabilis. Ideo, propter suam excommunicacionem, est nobis evidens quod deus e contrario benedicit; et sic 25 propter excommunicacionem anticristi exasperantur fideles ad exequendum vigorosius causam dei. *Sic enim ob- I. Petr. mutescere facerent imprudencium hominum ignoranciam, 11, 15 cum sciunt quod preter hoc quod excommunicantes corporaliter letificat et spiritualiter dampnificat, meritum 30 accumulunt constanter agenti et humiliter patienti. Cum act. 5 scribitur: Ibant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.* Unde signum est quod fides extinguitur et frigescit caritas multorum, dum propter fulmen 35 sophisticum diaboli, dimissa causa Cristi, consentitur tam faciliter anticristi. Est enim fides ecclesie quod omnes anticristi sive diaboli non dampnificant fidelem,

It is want of faith that causes men to submit so easily to these false thunderbolts; our faith teaches that nothing can harm him that keeps Christ's law; and to

9, 10. comittatur BC. 19. quin deest AB. 27. sicut omnes MSS.
30. dampnificant BC. 35. reirigescit B.

29. A few words are probably wanting here; though the sense is clear enough, the grammatical construction is very faulty. Perhaps, after *cum sciunt quod*, the word *excommunicacio* might be supplied; and *accumulant* (l. 31) put into the singular.

dum constanter in lege domini perseverat. Est iterum fides ecclesie, quod declinans a lege Christi vel peccato consensuens, propter traditiones vel puniciones infundabiles in scriptura ut sic excommunicatur a deo, et fit Christi proditor et sic infidelissimus anticristus. Ex quibus fidelis connectit quod nemo debet propter excommunicationes huiusmodi dimittere, sed constancius perficere opus Christi; quia faciendo contrarium diffidit de Christo, et plus timens maledictionem diaboli quam dei, annectitur anticristo; quia diabolum cum lege sua preponderat, et infideliter credit anticristum posse fideliter adherentem Christo rapere et nocere. Si, inquam, fideles in primitiva ecclesia rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio susceperunt, et si usque ad mortem sustulerunt omnia genera tormentorum pro defensione legis Christi, quanto magis defenderent hanc legem hodie, non obstante terrore excommunicationis quintuplici adinvento per regem superbie?

Clericos quidem exterrent tripliciter; ut quosdam simplices inhabilitant, et per consequens privant stipendio pro officio ministrandi; alios autem inhabilitant ad recipiendum ecclesiasticam dignitatem. Et 3^o beneficiatos privant, quia recipiunt ab eis subdolum medicinam. Quo ad seculares, terrent eos dupliciter; quosdam fingendo quod privant eos fidelium comunicacione, sacramentorum percipicione et suffragiorum ecclesie participacione. Et alios seculares terrent per bonorum fortune perdicionem, per proditoriam incarcerationem, et per crucis expugnationum elevacionem. Et omnia ista fiunt se | duccione diaboli, qua infatuat infideles qui non credunt quod omnes maledicciones diaboli vel censure anticristi non potuerunt nocere fideli, dum credit in Jesum; ymmo quod sibi est proprium maledicere nunquam, nisi quis demerendo declinaverit divinorum observancia preceptorum. Ista fides moveret fideles ad credendum non esse danda eis propter excommunicationem huiusmodi bona pauperum, sed potius abstrahenda et neganda eis comunicacio ac favor fidelium, propter signa notoria anticristi, et fidem qua credi debet quod constanter pugnando pro Christo, destruendo anticristum cum suis legibus, cristicola meretur.

submit is to be a backslider and an Antichrist.

It follows that the duty of the faithful is to remain steadfast and go on, like those of the early Church, notwithstanding the five sorts of intimidation employed:

1. against the clergy: degrading some, disqualifying others for advancement, and depriving of their benefices those that have any;

2. against the laity: by threats, either of spiritual or of temporal penalties.

But if we are faithful, we shall believe that no curses nor censures can hurt him who believes in Jesus;

and that, rather than give them what belongs to the poor because they curse, we ought rather to take all away from them.

4. et *pro* ut A. 5. sic *pro* fit AB. 6. convertit B. 8. proficere A. 12. vel *pro* et B; sive C. 27. percipicione B. 29. *pro* A. 35. observancia A; *ib.* fideles *deest* A. 39. quid *pro* quod omnes MSS. 41. mereretur C.

And to their arguments in favour of obedience due to them,
I answer:

1. That we have faith in the Gospel, and follow the counsels of Christ.
2. That except in so far as they agree with these, we should not obey even an Angel's commands.
3. And that if they come, greedy and worldly, pretending to stand in Christ's place, they are Antichrists, and ought to get nothing. Christ's followers do good and receive as alms a little food and raiment; Antichrist's extort by excommunications what is not due to them; they should be resisted in patience. One law in England is very unjust: that a man, excommunicated during 40 days by a bishop, should be imprisoned and despoiled. For as a bishop may be

Et quantum ad commenta sua, quibus seducit populum, quod quidquid ipse precepit subiectus debet ut fidem credere et implere; quod non excommunicat propter pecuniam, sed propter mortalem inobedienciam ex eius negacione sequentem; et quod Cristus pepigit secum 5 quidquid ille sentenciaverit, quod implebit: Primo, fidem ewangelii habent fideles alii, et observant ut illi Cristi consilia. Sciunt secundo, quod nec sibi nec *angelo de celo* obedire debeant, nisi in quantum debet obedire Cristo in observancia sui consilii vel precepti. Et sciunt 10 30, quod si veniunt *in vestimentis orium*, fingentes de Cristo mendacium, quod sunt spirituales sui vicarii, dum conversacio sua sit secularis et confabulacio sua questum sapiens, nullus est detestabilior anticristus; et per consequens non debet dari eis pro excommunicatione sua 15 peccunia vel sibi equivalens, sed potius subtrahi; cum, ut sic, non illis, sed Cristi pauperibus sunt illa debita. Nam de scola Cristi est, titulo elemosine, post opus meritorium edificatorium ecclesie, alimenta et tegumenta parce recipere. Scola vero anticristi extorquet 20 M. per excommunicationes et alias censuras terrificas discipulis suis indebitum; et contra illos debet totus cristianismus insurgere, negando eis bona pauperum, et suas excommunicationes equanimiter tollerando. Sic enim fecit Cristus cum suis discipulis paciendociore 25 excommunicationes sophisticas sacerdotum; quia, ut tactum est, censura iniuste illata prodest humiliter paciendi, et sic toti ecclesie, dum non eo minus consequitur illud quod debet, domino mandante. Et omnino debet detegi secularibus istud sophisma diaboli, quo dampnabiliter 30 peccant in excommunicatione huiusmodi ex consensu. Currit enim ut lex in anglia, quod si episcopus signavit quemquam excommunicari per 40 dies continuos, tunc debet incarcerari et punitus multipliciter spoliari. Cum igitur prelati non sunt tantum confirmati quin contingat eos 35

1. coniuncta A; commenta *corr.* ex coniuncta C. 2. preceperit C.
4. propter *deest* C. 6. Nam *pro* primo omnes MSS. 8. angelis B.
9. quanto C. 10. precepto A. 16. et per consequens *pro* sed potius A.
18. de *deest* omnes MSS. 19. edificacionem B. 21. per *deest* A.
28. prosequitur B. 31. excommunicatione huiusmodi *deest* A. 31. cur
pro currit A. 31, 32. enim currit BC. 33. debet *deest* C. 35. sint C.

6. This substitution — *primo* for *nam* — makes sense. If not admitted, we must suppose that at least one sentence, probably beginning with *primo*, is wanting before *nam*.

multociens excommunicare insontes, patet quod auctori-
santes implicantur scelere oppressionis iniuste proximi
ex consensu. Item, secundum leges ecclesie, debet meritorie
sufferre excommunicationem ut medicinalem pro suo pro-
fectu. Si igitur debet exhinc incarcerationi post 40 dies,
manifeste implicatur quod debet sic incarcerationi quia
meritorie servit Cristo; et talis indubie est tradicio
anticristi. Item, cum Robertus gilbonensis excommunicat
papam nostrum cum suis complicitibus et econtra, sicut
Iudei excommunicant Christum cum suis filiis, et econtra;
nec est notum ex fide de primis excommunicatoribus que
pars tenet iusticiam; igitur secularis neutram partem
debet defendere, sed permittere utrumque contententes
sese confundere; et per idem nusquam excommunicationem
talem, nisi revelatione habita, confirmare, cum peccat
graviter contra Christum consensiendo iniuste, vel parti
false. Satis multe sunt igitur leges civiles viciose, licet
non sint legibus anticristi nequioribus onerate.

Sed unum videtur michi manifestum, quod licet ad
reges ab iniuriis excommunicantium appellare. Nam apo-
stolus appellavit Cesarem (act. 23) existentem de pro-
pinqiori superstite tam beato Petro papa ecclesie Cristi,
quam eciam summis sacerdotibus synagoge. Cum igitur
illa appellacio, ex fide scripture, fuit magis autentica
quam aliqua alia secundam legem cesaream vel papalem,
quia ex instinctu spiritus sancti facta, videtur quod licet
fidelibus secundum hanc formam potissime appellare.
Et certum est quod causa potissima huius apellationis
fuit observancia legis Cristi. Causa autem accessoria
fuit protelacio vite Pauli; et secundum talem intencionem
duplicem consimilem debet fidelis ad regem in ex-
communicationis iniuria appellare. Item, in nulla causa
licet appellare, nisi ad iudicem superiorem, qui in illa
causa debet cognoscere et errata corrigere; sed licet
in causa excommunicationis ad regem appellare: ergo
ad regem pertinet ista discutere: consequens inconveniens
adversariis. Ideo, petendo subsidium | a secularibus pro
excommunicationis confirmacione, confundunt iurisdicciones
et subiciunt clericos: quod evitant. Finis enim legis et
eius complecio est forma ultima perfeccior precedenti.

mistaken, this
is oppression
on the part of
those who
allow it.

And since such
a sentence may
be borne
meritoriously, a
man may be
imprisoned for
doing a good
deed.

Again, when
Pope Urban
and Robert of
Geneva
anathematize
each other, and
we cannot know
which side is in
the right, the
secular powers
should stand by
and not
interfere.

One point is
certain: that we
may appeal to
the King, as
Paul did to
Caesar.

This appeal,
inspired by the
Holy Ghost for
the observance
of Christ's law
and St. Paul's
protection, may
serve as a
model for us.

And the fact
that we may
thus appeal
proves against
our adversaries
the kingly
authority in
such matters.

They
themselves do
so, by appealing
to the secular
arm; if the
State were not

1. iniuste excommunicare insontes BC; *ib.* patet *deest* C. 4, 5. per-
petuo *pro* protectu *omnes* MSS. 5. per A. 8. Gibbonensis B.
15. cum peccat *twice* A. 21. cesarem, ut patet BC; *ib.* existente B.
22. quam *pro* papa A. 26. dē t² *pro* videtur C; *ib.* quod quidem licet C.
30. protelacio AC. 35. igitur C.

above the
Church, they
should not
recur to it.

The King, God's
vicar, should
have his power;
the Pope,
Christ's vicar,
his patience.

It were
monstrous, if
the King were
compelled to
imprison a man
without
knowing why.

Thus they must
know what they
do, or they
would judge
blindly; and
their duty is to
give peace to
the Church. It
follows that they
are our
superiors,

and should
judge the
Bishops and
condemn them
if guilty of
spiritual,
which is far
worse than
temporal
treason.

Cum enim omnis appellacio sapit civilitatem, non foret fugiendum ecclesie ad brachiumulare, nisi ipsum, ut sic, foret superius ut ostensum est in materia *de rege*. Rex enim debet esse dei vicarius, et papa Cristi vicarius, secundum Augustinum, in signum quod rex debet procedere secundum divinam potenciam, et papa secundum humanitatis Cristi pacienciam; et sic petitur forum superius, cuius est per ministros causam dei cognoscere.

Item, diabolus nimis cecaret reges, si vicarius suus anticristus necessitaret eos ad incarcerationum servum Cristi, nisi debeant causam cognoscere, si causa sit legitima: quia aliter supponendum esset eos in hoc esse inpeccabiles, et magistrum suum extolli supra Cristum, dum licenciant ad ducendum fideles per aliam viam, quam Cristus principiat. Oportet ergo ex fide quod cognoscant causam pro qua debeant sic punire, quia aliter cece sine noticia veritatis (que Cristus est), deberent ledere matrem suam: quod est manifesta blasfemia; debent ergo secundum legem Cristi cognoscere quid est utile matri sue, dicente Augustino, sup. Joh. omelia 11: "Intendat caritas vestra quid dicam; quia pertinet ad reges seculi cristianos, ut temporibus suis pacatam faciant suam ecclesiam unde spiritualiter nati sunt." Ideo, ut sepe dixi, per secularem potenciam secundum causam civilem debent secundum legem Cristi regere matrem suam, et sunt ut superiores, subditis eciam quibuscunque presbiteris sic adiutis.

Ad illos igitur debent episcopi appellare; et si in hoc inventi fuerint proditores regis et regni, debent accucius quam pro alia prodicione temporalium castigari; quia produnt nedum corpus a temporali regno, sed corpus et animam, quantum in eis est, dampnant evidencius ad infernum. Sed defectus fidei est causa quare patenciam istius periculi non attendunt.

35

4. Vicarius dei et Cristi qui sunt *in marg.* A. 6. precedere AB.
8. pars *pro* per AB. 8. 9. cognoscere tñ dei C. 9. *T in red ink* A.
15. licenciat C. 16. igitur C. 20. igitur C. 21. sup. Joh. *deest* A.
23. pacatam C. 27. ut *deest* A; ut sic C. 30. regimini A.
34, 35. potenciam A.

21. Aug. In Jo. Tract. XI, c. 14 (Migne, t. 35, p. 1483).

CAPITULUM OCTAVUM.

A. Quintus tortor est officialis, sive episcopi, sive archidiaconi, qui precipue preeligitur ad congregandum magistro suo peccuniam. Et sic est comuniter de decano
5 et aliis officiariis in ista yerarchia diaboli ordinatis. Et quia secundus funis ficti amoris est penitencia, in qua includitur oris confessio, cordis contricio et operis satisfaccio: ideo de illa est paululum disserendum.

The fifth 'tormentor' is the official employed to get money chiefly by penance:

Arguunt enim naturales comuniter, quod hoc non
10 est unum sacramentum. Primo quia, ex defectu unitatis subiecti, non est aliquid unius generis, cum primum subiectatur in anima, secundum corporale et sensibile subiectatur in organo elloquentis, et tertium, diu post succedens, est indeterminate in potestate presbiteri, de
15 quocumque opere quod voluerit limitare, et comuniter non perficitur in hac vita; quando ergo foret talis penitencia? vel quomodo foret sensibile sacramentum?

which, it may be argued is not a sacrament, for it wants unity of parts: contrition being in the soul, confession on the lips, and satisfaction, coming long after, and dependent on the will of the priest.

Sed dimissa logicis hac controversia, cum officialis, de quo nobis sermo, dicitur de *officiare*, videndum est
20 de huius comunis funis origine. Supponitur ergo quod penitencia dicatur equivoce, nunc pro displicencia animi de peccato, nunc pro continuacione penalis propositi non iterandi; 3^o vero sumitur aggregative pro multis: et tunc sumitur famosius pro voce con-
25 sitentis et rite absolventis cum contricione, penitencia et satisfaccione confessi; et nunc sumitur tam in sua quidditate quam in sua proprietate pro una istarum parcium, et nunc pro reliqua; et nunc dicitur quod, deficiente una parte a suo ordine, non est nisi falsa
30 penitencia, ut dicitur de successivis aliis aggregatis; nec debemus sollicitari de forma verborum confitentis

But the word 'penance' has many different meanings,

which are apt to be confused together.

There is no true penance if one of its parts are wanting: i. e. essential parts and not mere ceremonies.

1. Cap. VIII in red ink A. 2. 5th tortor in red ink C; ib. officinalis A.
4. est *deest* B. 6. finis C. 7. omnis A. 10. quia *deest* A.
11. principium AB. 12. in corpore C. 13. subiectatur *deest* A.
19. officere C. 20. tueris AC. 24. facciosius *omnes* MSS. 25. previa C.
27. quid *pro* quam A. 28. *pro deest* B.

vel absolventis, nec de sollicitudine eorum vel auriculacione formali aut manus inpositione. Omnia, inquam, talia relinquo cultoribus signorum, qui quidditates et modos sacramentorum tanquam articulos fidei solempnissant. Sic ergo penitencia potest dici *sacramentum*, per 5
quod in mente fit peccati delecio et pro ipso peccato satisfaccio; et sic distinguitur a Baptismo; quia, licet peccatum originale ac actuale deleat, tamen non implicat de sua racione formali quod ille baptizatus, quin potius Cristus pro peccato baptismo deleto satisfaciat. 10

It is a sacrament by which sins are blotted out of the heart and made satisfaction for; thus differing from Baptism, which does not require satisfaction.

Objection: This definition would denote equally well the general confession made at Mass; thus there need be no auricular confession.

Now this is against the Decretal, which says that every faithful must confess once a year to his appointed priest (or any other whom he may allow) and take Holy Communion at Easter, under pain of exclusion from church during life and of denial of Christian burial after death.

Here it is clear that auricular confession is obligatory;

We ought therefore to add to the definition confession and all its rites.

Sed contra istam descriptionem arguitur. Videtur enim quod convenit cuicumque qui, audiendo missam, confitetur in eius inicio generaliter sacerdoti. Nam tali confessioni competit comunius dicta descriptio quam solitarie confitenti; ergo et racio diffiniti; et per consequens non oportet aliter confiteri proprio sacerdoti. Consequens contra decretalem in quinto, qua ex consilio generali sic dicitur: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discrecionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus B. peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio 20 sacerdoti et iniunctam penitenciam pro suis viribus studeat adimplere, suscipiens reverenter | ad minus in 50^b pascha eukaristie sacramentum; nisi forte ex proprii sacerdotis consilio ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab eius percepcione duxerit abstinendum. 25 Alioquin et vivens ab ecclesie ingressu arceatur, et moriens cristiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ex ignorancie cecitate velamen excusacionis assumat. Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa 30 confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulat et obtineat a proprio sacerdoti, cum aliter ipse illum non posset absolvere vel ligare." Ex isto videtur cunctos cristianos discretos astringi ex decreto ecclesie ad confitendum singulariter annuatim singula peccata sua proprio sacer- 35 doti. Ideo videtur quod oportet superaddere ad sacramentum privatam auriculacionem et manu sacerdotis capitis taccionem, cum aliis ritibus adinventis.

2. formali aut omnes MSS. 4. fidei deest A. 5. Sicut igitur C. 6. dilecio B. 7. apmo pro Baptismo A; ib. qui pro quia BC. 8. vel pro ac B; aut C. 15. igitur C. 17. contra AB. 21. ob above ad A; ob causam aliquam C. 28. quisque A. 32. ipse deest A. 33. solvere B; ib. istis BC. 34. discretos deest A. 37. penitencie B; privatam deest C. 38. et taccionem B.

Quod quia difficile est fundare vel credere. ideo foret
 fundamentum necessarium in ista materia cognoscere
 quid descriptive est penitencia, et quid vocalis confessio,
 que dicitur secundum speciem ad salutem anime requi-
 sita. Nec est dignus lucrum pro hoc sacramento exigere,
 qui nescit penitenciam quam requirit a comuni distin-
 gwere. Nam verba sanctorum doctorum non convincunt
 penitenciam quam requirunt. Recitat enim magister 4^o
 sentenciarum, dist. 14. quomodo beatus Ambrosius dicit
 quod penitencia est peccata preterita plangere, et plan-
 genda iterum non comittere. Et beatus Gregorius dicit
 quod penitere est peccata anteacta defflere et flenda
 iterum non committere. Patet primo quod utraque istarum
 descripcionum sanctorum implicat penitenciam non esse
 sacramentum; quia planctum insensibilem in mente
 absconditum. Videtur 2^o quod non est penitencia, dum
 confitens recidivat. Et per consequens non est in potestate
 cristiani complere penitenciam fratris sui, cum sit extra
 potestatem suam facere quod confitens peccatum con-
 fessum amplius non comittat. Et iterum, manifestum
 est quod talis penitencia potest perfecte impleri sine
 confessione generali vel speciali facta proprio sacerdote.
 Non enim valet sophisticacio qua dicitur quod nemo
 iterum committit peccata preterita sed alia, quia nimis
 est quod comittat eadem in specie.

Cum igitur tam sancti doctores et tam excellentes
 capitales ecclesie sic descripserunt penitenciam (ex qua
 descripcione sequitur quod fideles non teneantur virtute
 sacramenti penitencie confiteri peccata sua proprio sacer-
 30 doti), videtur quod lex predicta sit corruptela symoniace
 introducta. Nec repugnat diffinicio penitencie quam dat
 magister ibidem, scilicet quod penitencia est virtus vel
 gracia qua comissa mala cum emendacionis proposito
 plangimus et odimus. et plangenda iterum comittere
 35 nolumus. Sic enim, inquam, iuxta genus penitencia
 foret unum insensibile et non sacramentum, et per con-

This being inadmissible, we must see what the sacrament really is, for according to the Fathers, this confession is not penance.

Ambrose calls penance "to be sorry for past sins and not to commit them again".

Gregory uses like expressions. Penance, being in the soul, is not an outward sign; it has not existed if the sin is repeated; no one can do penance for another; and confession is unnecessary. To say that a past sin, being past, cannot be repeated, is sophistry. What is meant is the same sort of sin.

So the above mentioned law is corrupt.

To say that penance is a virtue by which we weep for our sins, still leaves it in the number of things invisible, and not a sacrament given by the priest.

1. et *pro* vel C. 11. committere C. 12. quod *deest* C. 14. sanc-
 torum *deest* C. 22. vel speciali *deest* C. 24. que *pro* quia BC.

9. Petr. Lombardus. IV Sentenciarum, c. 14, 1 Migne t. 192, p. 869).
 30. *Corruptela*. The exact drift of Wyclif's argument is as follows. He takes the order to confess once a year, and proves that confession is not a sacrament: *therefore* the law is unjust. To understand the connexion, we must remember his general principle: no law is binding, unless grounded upon Scripture.

And to say that the details of and ceremony connected with confession, are necessary, would be blasphemy.

All that only burdens the Church.

sequens sacerdos non dat sacramentum penitencie suo confitenti, quia nec dat virtutem nec gratiam. nec sanctum propositum voluntatis; sed hoc sepe impletur complecius in absentia sacerdotis. Quid ergo sibi et sacramento penitencie? Et dicere quod requiritur, sacerdote sedenti in alto, genuflexio, omnium peccatorum suorum singularis depromcio, et secundum formam adinventam cum inposicione manus in caput confessi cum cinere signatum sacerdotis absolucio, foret nimis blasphema ficticia. Omnia ergo ista videntur ad onus ecclesie infundabiliter adinventum: et sic lex pape in 5^o decretalium supradicta.

No one can be obliged to do what is not reasonable.

But the Pope cannot provide a discreet, and learned priest for every one. Then how can he command us to confess to one under such severe penalties?

Item, papa non potest obligare fidelem ad aliquid, nisi ad illud quod ipse potest docere vel facere esse rationale et meritorium obligato; sed hoc non potest respectu mandati huius legis: ergo nec fideles taliter obligari. Papa enim non habet potestatem ordinandi cuilibet fidei laico sacerdotem sciolum et discretum, cui expedit laico sic confiteri, ut patet inferius. Quomodo ergo ordinaret sub tanta pena quod quilibet laicus confiteatur sic peccata sua proprio sacerdoti? Blasphema, inquam, est obligacio ad impossibile, cuius impossibilitas per obligantem efficitur: ut obligare me ad confitendum ydoneo sacerdoti.

And the Sects introduced have rendered it impossible to find such a one: the knowledge of God's law, now neglected, is necessary for that.

Let the Pope first give us proper priests, and then oblige us to confess. But the way to this is not by corrupt patronage, appropriation of parish churches, and eager collection of first fruits, &c.

Et introducere scolam per quam est impossibile venire talem, foret summa blasfemia. Sacerdos autem non fit ad hoc ydoneus, nisi et noticia et observancia legis dei. Et illam scolam papa diminuit, faciens ydolatrassitire mundana plus quam beatitudinem animarum. Faciat igitur quemlibet fidelem habere proprium sacerdotem ydoneum ad illud officium, et tunc obliget, dum ratio et utilitas ad hoc movent. Sed non vadunt ad hoc ydiote promocio, ecclesiarum parochialium appropriacio, primorum fructuum, qui forent instrumenta disponendi presbiterum, candens collectio, et a doctrina scripture per traditiones humanas multiplicatas sacerdotum abstraccio. Infinita sunt talia, ut cardinalium et alienigenarum [promocio ac indigenarum] aliunde habiliu[m] ad officium illud distraccio. Obligans itaque fideles tam contrarie est sathanas in abstracto.

5. requirit *omnes* MSS. 6. flexo C. 7. depromcio A. 9. signatum et B. 10. ficta A; *ib.* Omnia enim ista BC. 13. aliud *in full* A. 15. obligare C. 21. sua *deest* C. 23. obligacionem A. 26. sententia A; summe B. 35. a *deest* C. 39. humilium A.

- D. Item non est ratio, quare homo ad minimum semel in anno debet taliter confiteri, quin per idem multociens, in casu quo delinquat multociens. Et sic irrationale sompnium videtur diffinire quod sufficit et requiritur ad salutem cuiuscumque semel in anno taliter confiteri; quocienscumque eget medico tam necessario, debet, propter infinitum maius periculum quam aliquid corporale, ad medelam sanitatis, omnibus aliis omissis, indilate transcurrere. Quis ergo sacerdos inponeret deo terminum miserendi, ut patet Judith 8: *Qui, inquit, estis vos, qui temptatis dominum? Non est iste sermo qui misericordiam provocet, sed potius qui iram excitet et furorem accendat. Posuistis vos tempus miseracionis Domini, et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei.* Et sequitur: *In hoc peccato peniteamus.* Si igitur fidelis per annum preservat se a mortali, quis cogeret eum de necessitate salutis confiteri, ut ipsemet instituit? Si autem de necessitate salutis magis indigeat, quis diffidit minus deo sufficere? Per hoc enim quod limitatur peccantem semel in anno taliter confiteri, intelligitur quod hoc requiritur et sufficit cuicunque; et utrumque istorum est falsum. Debuit igitur mandasse quod omnis fidelis debet, quocienscumque egerit, taliter confiteri. Sic quod papa nec potest facere quod quilibet sic egeat, quod ad deum, nec excusare quoscunque qui sic faciunt, si plus egent. Supra vires itaque foret blasphemi constituere talem legem.

- Nam, ut instant logici, multi habent discrecionem ad conterendum, et tamen sunt naturaliter surdi et muti. Multi etiam statim post discrecionem sunt subito mortui. Multi etiam vagantes per patrias non habent proprios sacerdotes, et cum huiusmodi legis obligacio non obligat quemcunque cristianum pro semper, quia sic teneretur quilibet pro semper confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et si semper obligat, non pro semper; satis est, ut arguunt logici, quod semel in quocunque anno confiteatur proprio sacerdoti; et sic multiplicantur mille logicales instancie, quod hec lex fuit false et inprovidè promulgata. Nam fideli confitente pro anno in comunitate cum reliquo et post statim decedente in gracia, non imputabitur sibi

Again, it a man ought to confess once a year, he should confess as often as he falls into sin and not wait. It is therefore unreasonable to make that term suffice for salvation;

besides, it is fixing a time for God's mercy.

If a man can keep for one year from mortal sin, why confess? And if he falls oftener, once a year will not suffice for God. 'It is required to confess once a year' implies that 'It is sufficient'. Both are false; the right order would have been, 'Confess according to your need'.

Exceptional cases: some cannot confess, being deaf and dumb; some die suddenly at the age of discretion; some are wanderers, and have no proper priests'. And there are endless difficulties about the perpetual obligation of this law;

3. mltos (= multociens) A. 6. enim BC. 9. igitur C. 15. iterum pro igitur C. 20. totaliter C. 21. cuicunq. A. 25. quocienscumque A. 29. convertendum AB. 31. quilibet deest A. 35. non twice A. 37. multipliciter C. 40. et deest AC.

if v. g. a man should die *just* a year after his last confession, he would not have confessed the year of his death; a year is always beginning; so we ought to be always confessing: The Decree does not say whether the confession must be general or particular. If the first, there can be no suitable penance given. If the second, we cannot remember all circumstances after the lapse of a month; and the penitent will be damned for not remembering them after a year!

Both priests and prelates are now unable to distinguish what sins and what virtues are;

they are blinded, thinking that sins are not sins, or that they even render God service by persecuting the godly. Thus they are unable to

quod pro anno mortis non est taliter confessus. Et si loquitur de annis in communitatibus, debet confiteri continue, cum pro quolibet instanti unus annus incipit, et alius terminatur. Item, quod omnis fidelis debet sic E. confiteri omnia peccata sua videtur mirabile, quia nec 5 in generali, nec in speciali. Nam per generalem confessionem non innotescit absolventi quomodo penitentiam iniungeret, et de remedio provideret; et si dicta lex exigit confessionem specialem, videtur irrationabilis propter multa. Primo, quia quantumcunque memorati ad 10 minus infra mensem perderent circumstantias agravantes: quomodo igitur datur sibi licencia expectandi per undecim menses? Non enim valet quod habet licenciam a lege ecclesie sic expectare, et tamen pro mora illa dampnabitur lege dei. Tunc enim forent ille leges con- 15 trarie, et statutum Romani episcopi lex iniqua, cum ipsam implens dampnabitur; oportet igitur ad iustificationem huius legis statuere ut non diucius expectet confessionem, quam plene recolit de circumstantia aggravante; ergo non taxaretur licencia durandi exclusive 20 per annum.

Similiter tam prelati quam subditi sic abducuntur per scolam aliquam quod ignorant ut plurimum tam crimina quam virtutes. Ex quo videtur quod comunitas cristianorum ratione legis huius necessitatur incidere 25 in mortale. Nam ab infimo laico usque ad Romanum pontificem, nec scitur quando generaliter peccatur mortaliter, nec quomodo mortalia et venialia distinguuntur: cum ex fide scripture patet quod multa sunt peccata et hereses, que prelati cecati non ponderant; ymmo, 30 proseguendo putant se obsequium prestare deo, cum alios ewangelicos persecuntur tamquam hereticos. Papa igitur, statuens quod omnes adulti confiteantur sic discrete omnia peccata, ordinaret vel promoveret quod ipsa peccata cognoscent; ad quod non promovet, sed 35

2. loquens A: loquimur C; *ib.* comunicantibus A; comitantibus C.
4. determinatur B. 5. omnia *deest* B. 7. absolventem B. 10, 11. memorativus infra C. 12. sibi *deest* A. 14. et *deest* B; *ib.* promiora A.
18. quod *pro* ut AC. 20. igitur C. 23. aliam AC. 25. huius legis C.
26. Nota *in marg.* A. 31. obsequia C. 32. persequenter A. 33. sic *deest* A. 35. cognoscerent C.

11. Some Catholic catechisms admit the necessity of giving the 'aggravating circumstances': which is, I believe, denied by many theologians; but all say that a sin forgotten is a sin forgiven.

- impedit se et suos; et sic statuens implicite ut cognoscant ista, implicat in contradiccione more diaboli scolam suam. Similiter prelati ligantur precipue vinculis diaboli, et sunt expertes potestatis clavium. Quomodo ergo statueret papa legem, quod subditi a talibus absolvantur? Omnia enim talia statuta tacite includunt blasphemiam, | quia auctor eorum dicit se posse in contradictoria, supra deum. Quomodo ergo obligaret me ut confitear prelato, qui est plenus discipulus anticristi?
- Item, non sciunt aut nolunt in propria persona servare legem predictam, cum vix unquam vere peniteant, dicente decreto sub auctoritate Crisostomi de penitencia dist. 1^a "Quis aliquando vidit clericum cito penitenciam agentem? Et si deprehensus humiliaverit se, non ideo dolet quia peccavit, sed confunditur quia perdidit gloriam suam." Notemus ergo omnes prelatos symoniacos in penitencia induratos, et consideremus ex fide quod non prodest, sed obest sic talibus confiteri. Et patet quod lex predicta cum facto auctoris reddidit subiectos perplexos. Non enim est vera penitencia, ut patet ex dictis sanctorum, dum confitens recidivat, vel ad minimum dum confitens non conteritur. Cum ergo hoc sit solius dei concedere, videtur quod ordinans talem legem ut quilibet sic confiteatur, nedum blasfemat, sed extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, negociando de populo: blasphemum itaque est quemquam non deum statuere ut aliquis vere confiteatur. Esset ergo bonum, quod sic presumens de propria blasfemia conteratur et curreret lex Cristi de penitencia, sicut olim.
- Item, tam ex parte insufficiencie, quam ex parte infundabilis oneris sacerdotis, videtur quod auricularis confessio sit temere introducta. Nam sacerdos nescit discrete aptare penitenciam ad delictum, nec limitare medicinale penitenciam ad cavendum culpam hominis in futurum: sed iuxta decretalem predictam, hoc requiritur ad discrecionem sacerdotis; ergo ex defectu sacerdotis ydonei est lex predicta irrationalis. Assumptum videtur ex hoc quod, cum delictum sit commissum in deum, omnis pena quam peccator posset hic sufferre

confess, for the Pope cannot make them know what is and what is not sin.

The faithful cannot be forced to confess to Antichrist's disciples.

They themselves ignore or disobey the law: Chrysostom alludes to the infrequency of penance in the clergy.

It is of no use, and is even hurtful, to confess to a simoniacal priest.

And unless the penitent never falls again (which God alone can know) this confession is no true penance.

The law is therefore blasphemous.

Christ's doctrine of penance should be reverted to.

The priest is besides excessively burdened by this unreasonable law.

No penance can be sufficient to punish an offence against God.

5. igitur C. 6. *In marg.*: In nomine domini A. 10. volunt B.
16. igitur C. 22. revertitur AB. 25. quo A; *ib.* deus deest A. 28. sua
pro de B. 31. omnis. *corr. in marg.* oneris C; *ib.* auricularis = auricularis AC. 36. igitur C. 39. sufficere AB.

foret nimis modica, cum propter contemptum terreni
 regis inferunt legitime gravem mortem. Nec valet dicere
 quod misericordia dei supplet et acceptat quamcunque
 penitenciam quam sacerdos iniunxit. Primo, quia tunc
 ad hoc non requiritur discrecio sacerdotis, quod est 5
 contra legem predictam; 2^o quia, cum deus multis non
 miseretur ad eorum salutem propter parvitatem attri-
 cionis et penitencie, nec subiacet humane noticie taxare
 proportionem istorum ad voluntatem dei. Nam videtur
 quod temerarium sit sacerdotem de talibus sibi in- 10
 cognitis iudicare. Tercio, quia diversi sacerdotes diversos
 gradus penitencie pro eodem peccato iniungunt; sicut
 quondam iniungebatur penitencia de culpa pro minori
 peccato, ut patet de penitencia. Oportet igitur quod
 aliquis vel singulus talis confessor erret in penitenciam 15
 iniungendo. Cum enim penitencie sint opposite, impli-
 cantes contradiccionem, oportet quod aliqua deo displi-
 ceat; quia aliter contradictoria placerent deo: ut, quod
 isti peccatori iniungatur tanta penitencia, et non amplior.
 Sicut ergo iustum est secundum taxationem divinam, 20
 quod peccator subeat tantam penam diu antequam
 sacerdos absolverit; sic eque iustum est, postquam
 penitenciam iniunxerit, cum deus non mutat voluntatem
 vel liberacionem iusticie propter opus errabile sacer-
 dotis. Et ex isto videtur quod, sacerdotibus variantibus in 25
 penitencia eiusdem pro eodem peccato, alter eorum
 erraret, vel uterque; cum non sit fingenda ratio quare
 iustum esset Petrum iniungere Paulo tantam penitenciam
 et Linum iniungere sibi tam variam, maiorem aut minorem,
 pro eodem crimine. Oportet igitur quod alter eorum erret 30
 a iusticia voluntatis divine; nec est ratio, quin uterque.
 Nec valet secunda ficcio, quod sufficit ad deleccionem G.
 peccati per sacramentum penitencie cuiuscunque pene
 iniuncio, cum homo solvet residuum pene in purga-
 torio; quia sic sacerdos stultissimus posset eque iuste 35
 penitenciam iniungere, cum iusticie domini tam varie
 maius et minus susciperent. Item, ex tali dubio, ex in-
 discreta iniuncione penitencie confessus tuus dampna-
 bitur et nunquam veniet ad purgatorium; ergo iniuncio
 fatua. Sicut enim confessor ex prudencia et caritate 40
 potest mereri confesso suo beatitudinem, ita ex stulticia

God's mercy
 accepts any
 penance, there
 is no necessity
 for the priest
 to be prudent.
 Some lose their
 souls for want of
 penance, a want
 that no man
 can estimate.
 For the same
 sin, different
 priests
 command
 different
 penances;
 it follows that
 one or the other
 must err, or all
 of them;

for it is not
 just that two
 men should be
 punished
 differently for
 the same sin.

To say that
 any penance is
 sufficient,
 because the rest
 will be done in
 Purgatory, puts
 the least and the
 most intelligent
 priest on the
 same level;
 besides, on
 account of the
 penance
 wrongly
 imposed, the
 penitent may

9. divinam pro dei nam AC.
 penitencia, a gaf C. 10. pena B.
 27. sint A. 37. duo B. 39. igitur.

11. diversos deest C. 14. after
 26. igitur C. 21. penam deest A.

sua et peccato potest causare in eo dampnationem. Ideo temerarium videtur iniungere confesso penitentiam indiscrete. Similiter iuxta loquentes, penitencia in purgatorio erit diuturnior et infinitum gravior quam penitencia hic in via: ex quo sequitur quod stultissimum et periculosissimum est sacerdotem iniungere penitentiam indiscrete. Nam infinitum gravius foret ex errore facere quod confessus duret diucius in purgatorio per unum diem, quam foret ex errore vel dolo tollere totam confessi substantiam. Sed secundum foret manifesta iniusticia; ergo evidencius primum. Studiosissime itaque studeret confessor artem penitentiam iniungendi; et cum illa ars nullibi docetur, et specialiter in scriptura, que est lex per se sufficiens ad regimen cuiuslibet cristiani, evidens est | quod preter fidem scripture fingitur confessio introducta. Quomodo igitur manet caritas, que *non querit que sua sunt* in ipso confessore, cum non curat ex sua stulticia causare confesso suo penam purgatorii quantumcunque longam, sive perpetuam in inferno; et cum curat sollicite quod confessus suus solvat sibi decimas? Ymmo alia bona indebita nititur symoniace extorquere. Papa igitur statuens talem legem traderet artem taxandi penitencias ad peccata et iniungeret scolam noscendi hanc artem sacerdotibus, cum nullibi exprimitur in scriptura.

Nec valet dicere quod penitencie sunt modo arbitrarie, et ita a quocunque sacerdote confessore cognite: nam ad arbitrandum illas requiritur summa discrecio. Illam autem artem non curant superiores ecclesie, nec penitenciarum; et variacio iniunctionis penitencie docet confessos quod penitenciarum sepe errat. Et quantum ad studium artis date in *De penitencia* per distinciones, patet quod modice aut nichil student in illis. Ideo parvipensio istius scole reddidit prelatos suspectos quod non credunt istam sentenciam quam docent laicos; quia tunc curarent diligencius salutem propriam. Unde creditur quod non iniungunt penitencias taxatas in canone; quia pauci vel nulli ad eas accederent confitendi. Ydeo, ut alliciant propter subieccionem et questum, fingunt

go to Hell, thus missing Purgatory.

And the pains of Purgatory being so much greater than any in this life, it is a greater injustice to expose a penitent to one day there, than to take away all his fortune.

This art of imposing right penances ought to be learnt with great care; but no rules for it are to be found in Scripture.

If the confessor is more particular about tithes than about the state of the man's soul, he is without charity.

The law of confession implies the art of enjoining penances proportionate to sins.

If it be said that penances now depend on the priest's will, this very fact renders a good choice more difficult.

It is certain that very little trouble is taken that way, and that consequently prelates

themselves do not believe what they teach the laity. They do not follow the ancient Canons, because no one would then confess.

9. forte C. 10. manifeste C. 10. 11. iniustum BC. 11. igitur C; ib. studiosissimi A. 12. confessor deest AC. 14. regnum AB. 18. in B. 19. in deest B. 21. bona A. 27. confessore B. 31. se pro sepe A. 33. modicum BC. 34. reddid BC. 38. accedunt C. 39. ad A.

And they
therefore give
out that any
penance is
enough.
Either the
Canons were,
or the priests
are wrong.
If the priests of
old were able
to apply
penances
with, prudence
the same ought
now to be done.

The reason the
old laws are
not followed is
not because
priests are able
to do without
them, or
wanting in
authority or
knowledge; but
that they are
worldly, and
prefer imposing
fines to any
other penance.
As for penance
as a cure for
the soul, it
exists no
longer; the
prelates &c.
ought to be
hung for the
harm they do
to souls (as bad
physicians, to
bodies);
and the Church
should keep a
strict watch
over the
medicines that
they give.

This law is
besides
suspected of
heresy; because
it requires the
penitent to be
alone, which
excludes public
penance, and
the use of an
interpreter, and
(blasphemy!)
the presence
and aid of God.

ut satis est de quacunque penitencia quam ipsi voluerint arbitrari; et tamen, vel sequitur quod antique penitencie fuerunt colecte improvide, vel temere sunt dimisse. Nam in multis esset hodie tam necessarium iniungere gravem penitenciam ut tunc erat, et aptare 5 peccatis manifestis penitenciam regulariter collectam, ut tunc fecerant. Nec est ratio quod taxantes illam penitenciam sciverunt proporcionare illam ad fortitudinem persone, ad longevitatem vite, ad conformitatem voluntatis divine, quin per idem et modo scirent; quia aliter forent 10 penitenciarum nimis stulti.

Nec valet dicere quod ideo non dant hodie regulas sicut olim, quia sacerdotes sunt hodie discreiores arbitrii, vel deficit eis auctoritas, vel sciencia taxandi: et sic de aliis ficticiis. Quin potius sunt dediti circa 15 mundum, et negligunt ac nesciunt talia statuere vel discere; quia tunc convinceretur eorum ignorancia, et destrueretur eorum penitencia pecuniaria, qua taxant subditos nunc ad votum. Et quantum ad artem aptandi medicinam de cavendo peccatum in futurum, patet quod 20 ex toto periit. Et tamen, supposita tanta necessitate eius, ut modo fingitur, prelati et penitenciarum proditores pessimi suspendendi. Si enim medicus corporalis ex negligencia artis occideret magnatem vel simplicem, ipse foret apud deum et homines dignus morte. Quanto 25 magis, cum quis obligat se habere artem et medicinas salvandi animas, et tamen propter stulticiam suam dampnantur perpetuo! Illam igitur medicinam debet ecclesia examinare assidue, cum nova ingrediencia nimis sophisticantur hodie; et sic periculum et temeritas 30 sacerdotis cogerent examinare istam materiam et excutere falsitatem putridam coram deo.

Item, videtur legem predictam et novitates adiectas esse suspectas de heresi propter multa. Primo, quia statuit quod omnis fidelis discretus debet confiteri solus 35 omnia peccata sua semel in anno proprio sacerdoti. Stat enim hominem confiteri in penitencia multorum, et per interpretem, multis audientibus atque iuvantibus: ergo non est ratio nec ad necessitatem salutis requisicio

1. quod C. 3. colecte C. 5. tam gravem B. 6. matris *pro* manifestis *omnes* MSS. 8. proportionaliter A. 9. longitudinem B. 10. quando *pro* quin C; *ib.* alter A. 15. quando C. 23. suspendendi A. 26. medicinam C. 27. cum C; *ib.* suam *deest* C. 28. dampnantur *omnes* MSS. 29. nova *deest* A. 31–35. examinare — predictam *deest* A. 31. extrudere C. 39. igitur C.

Joh. quod confiteatur sic solus, cum oportet deum inspirando
XVI,32 assistere. Ipse autem excludit solitudinem in Cristo

1. ut patet Joh. Et confirmatur eo quod blasphemum est
dicere quod solus confitens facit opus. Si dicatur quod

It also implies
that the
confession is
not valid, if
overheard;
which often
happens
without either
penitent or
priest knowing
of it.

5 intelligitur quod confitens sit solus vel sola quantum
ad audicionem vel noticiam, patet quod hoc non oportet;
quia, multis noscentibus culpam vel tunc vel ante, non
minus (ceteris paribus) stat remissio aput deum. Quis,
inquam, dubitat quin ignorante utraque persona stat

10 multos latenter audire confessionem que non minus eo
erit valida confessio? nec est talis confessio magis meri-
toria quam illa publica et gloriosa confessio latronis.

Luce 23. *Nos, inquit, iuste, nam digna factis recipimus;*
hic vero nichil mali gessit. Et dicebat ad Jesum: Domine,

15 *memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum. Et dixit illi*
Jesus: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso.

And no private
confession can
equal that of
the good thief;
which was
public, not
auricular; of
which latter no
mention is to
be found in
Scripture.

Tam vero autenticam et solempnem confessionem auri-
cularem nemo inveniet in scriptura. Similiter, illa soli-
taria et infundabilis confessio dat occasionem effreni

20 in voluptatibus abscondite volutandi. Nam, occasione
istius legis, frequenter sacerdos intrat cum femina in
cameras vel in alia loca abscondita et serata, et ibi
instinctu diaboli perpetrant multa facinora; ut novit
ecclesia. Ideo videtur melius statuuisse quod confiteatur

The privacy of
confession, as is
well known,
also gives
occasion to
many sins of
lust.

25 in ecclesia in multorum presencia. Unde sophiste dicunt

52^b Oxonie, quod lex ista solum pro hermofroditis | sit valida,
vel aliter ex ipsa sequitur conclusio incongrua, scilicet
quod femina discretata debet confiteri sic solus. Sic enim
dicunt quod hec locutio est falsa vel incongrua, *omnis*

Solus cannot
apply to a
person of the
feminine sex.

30 *homo est solus.* Nec videtur quod habet auctoritatem
a scriptura, nisi forte dictum sapientis Ecclesiasticis 4,
Ve soli.

"Woe to him
that is alone!"
says Scripture.

Similiter hec adinvencio excitat penitenciariorum ad
depromendum peccata, et ut insontes postmodum pu-

Confessors are
thereby urged
to tell the sins of
their penitents.

2. enim B; *ib.* sollicitudinem A. 5. sic C. 8. minis B. 11. con-
fessio *deest* AC; *ib.* plus *pro* nec est talis confessio magis B; nec est
talis privata B; *ib.* *after* talis, privata C; *ib.* magis *deest* A. 17. et *deest* B.
22. abdita AC. 26. est BC. 28. sola A. 33. vel *pro* hec B.
37. depromendum A; *ib.* per *corr.* in post C.

25. Such an order exists at present; confessions (at least of
women) are never heard unless in church and in a confessional;
in some countries this rule extends to all penitents. 28. *Solus*.
This is a logical quibble, of which many examples are to be
found in *Logica*, now publishing. If both sexes must confess,
women must; but in order to be, according to the law, *solus*,
she would require to be masculine.

It is in many cases lawful and right to do so; yet a most cruel law condemns to degradation and perpetual prison in a monastery him that reveals the secrets of confession; such a punishment could not be given even by God, much less by Antichrist. By the clause relating to confession *proprio sacerdote*, he is no longer the rector or curate,

but only the priest chosen by Rome.

No priest is allowed to confess another's penitent without the confessor's permission, unless in case of ignorance.

So now, instead of every Christian being free, as in Christ's time, to confess to any priest,

niantur. Nam nedum diabolus est pronus ad inclinandum facere tam irrationabiliter iniunctum, sed foret in casu ad honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie depromere confessum, ut patet posterius. Et crudelitas legis patet 11 decretalium, ubi supra: ubi dicitur quod sacerdos 5 confessionem detegens, non solum a sacerdotali officio deponatur, sed ad agendum perpetuam penitentiam in monasterio detrudatur. Et constituere tales penas pro tali transgressione videtur deo non posse competere; quanto magis non debet competere anticristo, licet ex- 10 tollitur super omne quod dicitur deus!

Quantum ad secundum verbum, quod debet confiteri *proprio sacerdote*, videtur suspectum, cum subiungit: "Si quis autem alieno sacerdote voluerit iusta de causa confiteri peccata, licenciam prius postulet et obtineat 15 a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ipse illum non posset solvere vel ligare." Hic patet restrictio ultra rationem que K. fuit in primitiva ecclesia. Unde, quamvis proprius sacerdos videatur esse curatus vel rector vel parrochialis sacerdos, tamen hodie ad tantum variatus est terminus quod ille 20 censetur proprius sacerdos, quemcunque voluerit papa symoniace limitare. Sed Urbanus secundus, de penitentia dist. 2^a sic loquitur: "placuit, ut deinceps nulli sacerdotum liceat quemlibet comissum alteri sacerdoti ad penitentiam suscipere sine eius consensu, cui se prius 25 comisit, nisi per ignoranciam illius cuius penitens prius confessus est." Sic igitur secundum variaciones temporis fiunt varia confessionis comercia, et multiplicantur adinventiones blasfemie. Cristus enim nescivit legem contrariam isti quod quicumque cristianus teneatur 30 libere confiteri cuicumque sacerdoti quem sciverit vel probabiliter crediderit sanius consulere. Sed post *effeminati* tantum *dominantur eis* quod vendunt blasfeme animas, quia ducatum earum ad tarthara, sicut si quis venderet bovem aut asinum. Sed non est conveniens 35

Isa. III, 4

2. fo na² C. 5. 5^o BC. 8. Mo^m A; monasterium C. 14. autem *deest* B. 19. *after* curatus, ut *corr.* ex vel A. 20. est *deest* A. 23. 6th B. 26. pro B. 28. commercio B. 30. istam AC. 34. eorum A; *ib.* tarth'a A; *ib.* sicut *deest* B; *ib.* si *deest* AC.

5. Decr. Greg. (as in note, p. 112). 17. We may note that, whatever may have been the custom in Wyclif's time, parish priests at present either give public leave to choose any confessor, or are understood to do so by their silence. This clause therefore, like many other canons of discipline, seems practically to have fallen into disuse. 23. Decr. Grat. De Penit. dist. VI, c. 3.

eorum testimonium. cum subiungit, quod volens ex iusta causa confiteri sacerdoti alteri licenciam postulet et obtineat, cum aliter alienus sacerdos non posset eum solvere vel ligare. Ecce misera captivatio laici, quem oportet contra ius poli petere et habere licenciam a sacerdote captivante, quantumcunque stultus et invidus fuerit, ad faciendum voluntatem dei, quia salutarem iusticiam! Talis, inquam, in maiori parte preficitur et ydonei presubtrahuntur. Quomodo ergo oportet petere licenciam a papa, ab episcopo vel curato, quando scitur quod lex Cristi licenciat? Non est ratio, si non ut ficta obediencia faciat anticristi discipulos superbiere.

he is obliged to beg leave, even when he has good reasons for wishing to go to another priest, or the latter has no jurisdiction!

Thus he must beg leave of a man to do what is allowed by Christ's law.

Similiter blasphemum et contrarium legi papali est quod sine sacerdotis proprii licencia alius non poterit datum subditum solvere vel ligare, quia sic episcopus non posset licenciare subditum ad confitendum alii discreto presbitero, nisi malivulus curatus consenciat. Sed, sicut non licet alieno tractare uxorem alterius, eciam licet ipse consenserit, ita videtur de ecclesia cui symoniace desponsatur. Unde dicunt satrape quod sicut papa potest licenciare spiritualem filiam vel uxorem tractari ab extero, invito curato sive marito, similiter deus habilitans et potestatem conferens cuicunque sacerdoti ad audiendum confessiones cuiuscunque alterius, eo ipso illud licenciat. Si igitur papa vel quicunque alius hoc impedit, est manifeste Cristo contrarius. Grave itaque est in tam excellenti officio spiritui sancto resistere.

Besides, this is contrary to Church discipline; it the 'proper priest' alone can give jurisdiction to another, his Bishop has then no power to do so.

But if God confers the priesthood, He also confers on him the right to hear any confessions.

Sed tertium verbum sacerdotale, in quo ponitur vis tocus sacramenti, est illud: *absolve te*, cuius fundacionem, sicut penitencie descripcionem, est difficile reperire; et blasphemum est reponere deo negligenciam vel ignoranciam quo ad illud, quin, sicut docuit formam verborum baptismi, sic doceret ecclesiam formam verborum sacramenti penitencie, si vellet illud sacramentum esse tam

The words "I absolve thee" are not to be found in Scripture; so either this sacrament is not so necessary as Baptism, or God was neglectful.

4. quem *deest* B. 6. *Im* *undus* = immundus C. 11. ut *deest* A.
21. vel uxorem *deest* B; *in marg. erasum* C. 22. curato sive *deest* AB;
sive *deletum* C. 28. *fac* *le* AC. 29. absolvente A; absolvo te C.
31. inponere deo C.

22. *Similiter* etc. I think some words must be wanting here, as Wyclif makes his adversaries say just what they absolutely deny. If, however, the reader ventures to transpose the order of the first words in the sentence thus: *Unde sicut dicunt satrape quod papa, etc.* — the sense is restored without supposing anything to be wanting.

necessarium ecclesie, ut modo fingitur. Sed sicut prelati cecantur in materia de quidditate eukaristie, sic cecantur in materia de quidditate penitencie. Forma igitur istorum verborum potest ex hoc inpugnari, quod apostoli non sunt usi secundum talem formam, *absolvere*. Et iterum 5 est inductum blasfeme, ex errore sensus catholici, dicere quod presbiter sic absolvit. Sicut enim sacerdos dimittit vel remittit peccata populi, ita debet quilibet cristianus, ut patet Matth. 16 et Matth. 18. Et iterum incertum est penitenciariorum, si sit verum vel mendacium quod ipse absolvit penitentem. Et cum non debet mentiri pro toto mundo, videtur quod non debet sine revelacione | verbum illud ut sacramentale asserere. Sic enim 53^a ex sibi dubio imponeret deo auctorisationem mendacii. Quod autem ex sibi dubio hoc verbum sit falsum, patet 15 tam ex parte penitentis, quam absolventis. Ex parte penitentis, cum ignorat si ipsemet sit contritus: et evidencius, qui absolvit. Absolvens autem, eciam sicut penitens, ignorat si in penam peccati finalis inpenitencie aliquod crimen dimiserit, vel ex aliqua alia negligencia 20 false penituerit. Ex parte vero absolventis, ignoratur si sit prescitus vel membrum ecclesie; si sit hereticus ex symonia, quam defendit opere vel consensu: cum quot-quot similibus, ex quibus impediretur vera absolutio apud deum. 25

Nec valet dicere quod absolutio sit solum condicionata et quatenus deus acceptaverit; tum quia tolleretur certitudo absolucionis ab ipso confesso, cum scit, quod non sequitur: "Absolvo te, si deus voluerit," ergo, "absolvo te vel do tibi aliquod remedium spirituale;" tum 30 eciam quia sic nedum sacerdos extraneus, sed eciam laicus posset a peccato quocunque absolvere. Unde tam sacerdos quam confitens notaret indisposicionem presbiteri absolventis, docente decreto de penitencia dist. 6^a ex

Matth.
XVI, 19;
XVIII, 18

This form was not used by the Apostles; the words are besides wrong, as implying a power of forgiveness which all Christians exercise. And the Confessor, whilst uttering the words, does not know whether they are true. The penitent himself does not know if he is contrite; much more his confessor. He may have forgotten some crime through negligence;

he may be a castaway and no true member of the Church; or a heretic, &c.

It will not do to say that the absolution is conditioned, because then there would be no more certainty of pardon, and anybody could absolve in that way.

2. 3. eukaristie — quidditate *deest* C. 5. nisi AB. 9. 6^o B; *ib.* 8 C; *ib.* Et *deest* B. 15. ut A. 17. si A. 18. eciam *deest* A. 19. penitenciam AB. 27. *zfi* ^{III} *q*ts (= et si in quatenus) A; si et *q*us C. 29. igitur C. 34. dicentis docente A.

10. *Verum vel mendacium*. We should note that the formula of absolution contains the restriction: *in quantum possum et tu indiges*. 27, 28. *Certitudo*. What Wyclif supposes absolution should give is absolute certitude of forgiveness; which is a very rare thing indeed. St. Bernard used to apply this passage to himself: *nescit homo utrum amore an odio dignus sit*. 34. Decr. Grat. De Penit. D. VI, c. 1.

testimonio Augustini: "Qui vult confiteri peccata sua, ut
inveniat gratiam, querat sacerdotem scientem solvere
et ligare, ne cum negligens circa se extiterit, negligatur
M. a deo." Et sequitur "Quicumque confitetur omnino con-
5 fiteatur sacerdoti meliori quem potest habere". "Non
petat," inquit, "sacerdotes per aliquam culpam ab uni-
tate ecclesie divisos; Judas enim qui penitens ivit ad
phariseos, relinquens apostolos, nichil invenit auxilii,
nisi augmentum desperacionis. Dixerunt enim: *quid ad*
10 *nos? tu videris*". Ita declarat sanctus esse de sacerdotibus
absolventibus qui symonia vel aliquo crimine sunt fedati.
Et forte a summo pontifice usque ad infimum fratrem.
omnes sunt symoniaci voluntate, opere vel consensu; et
artem medendi ignorant, et per consequens carent clavium
15 potestate. Et in talibus casibus, secundum doctrinam
Augustini (ibidem) debet homo confiteri fidei laico,
dimissis sacerdotibus sic suspectis; quia, si non secuntur
Cristum in moribus et pretendunt se esse eius vicarios,
habentes potestatem mediandi inter deum et populum,
20 nulli sunt magis extranei a sacerdotali potestate vel
vero nomine sacerdotis.

Et patet quod error accidit in ministerio ecclesiasti-
corum ex defectu ordinatorum, ex defectu ordinariorum
et suorum officiariorum, et utrumque. Ex errore ordi-
25 natorum, qui ignorantes legem et ordinationem Cristi
ab ipsa exorbitant. Unde 25^a, q. Ult. sub auctoritate
Leonis pape sic scribitur. "Si qui episcopi talem con-
secraverint sacerdotem qualem esse non liceat, eciam
si aliquo modo dampnum proprii honoris evaserint,
30 ordinationis ius amplius non habebunt. Nec umquam
eidem sacramento intersint, quod, neglecto divino iu-
dicio, inmerito prestiterunt generaliter: veluti dum
civitati episcopalis dignitas perpetuo subtrahitur, que
suos episcopos interimere consuevit." Ex ista lege papali,
35 preponderantiori multis evangelium observatis, patet
primo quod nullus episcopus debet ordinare quemquam
presbiterum, nisi habuerit revelacionem vel evidentem
noticiam, per strictam examinacionem tam in moribus
per testificacionem quam in noticia fidei per prudentem

And the
qualities of the
confessor are
also to be
remarked:
Augustine says
that we must
not confess to
a priest
separated from
the Church, or
tainted by
simony.

And it may
well be that
from the Pope
downwards, all
priests are in
such a case:
we ought then
to prefer to
confess to one
of the faithful
laity.

Priests may be
wrongly
ordained
through the
fault of the
Ordinaries and
their officials, of
the candidates,
or of both.
By Canon law
any Bishop,
ordaining to
the priesthood
one that is not
worthy, should
no longer
ordain.

Therefore no
Bishop can
ordain, unless
the worthiness
of the priest is
evident to him.

3. tamen C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 4. qui ergo B; qui igitur C; *ib.* animo A.
7. diversos A. 13. volente A; *ib.* consensum A. 28. sacerdocio B.
30. ulterius C. 33. qui A. 37. habeat C. 38. tam *deest* A.

opinionem; quia ordinando inhabiles perdunt ius quemquam ulterius ordinandi.

Priests, if their Bishop have no power to ordain them, are mere laymen; it were therefore better if there were none such, as the sacraments which they dispense are worthless. The same is true of any Church dignitary ordained by the Pope, if incapable; and their ordination is an act of perversity. As spiritual is worse than bodily homicide; any king or community perverting Bishops by endowments deserves to have none.

The like holds good of any archdeacons, deans or officials instituted by the prelates for the sake of lucre: the Church ought to be purified of all such, and also of all rulers who draw the clergy to their own service. The law obliging all to confess once a year is unjust;

Et patet quod presbiteri ex defectu potestatis episcopi sunt, ut prius, laici; nisi forte deus ex gracia nobis ignota ante evidenciam operis virtuosi suppleat. Nec oportet timere de defectu numeri sacerdotum, quia melius esset habere paucos vel nullos huiusmodi quam quantumcunque multitudinem onerosam, cum non in illis vel sacramentis eorum consistat salus populi. Patet secundo quod, si papa ordinet ineptum episcopum vel quemcunque ecclesie officiarium, incidit in idem periculum; tum quia papa est episcopus, et sui episcopi sacerdotes; tum eciam quia forcior est ratio in superiori prelato et subiecto diligencius ordinando. Et patet de papis quod sunt discoli, ordinando pseudo-cardinales et pseudo-episcopos. Ideo, nisi affuerit potestas episcopi animarum, olim fuisset vinea Cristi sicut Sodoma et Gomora. Et patet tercio, quomodo civitates multe, sicut et prelati, merentur carere suis episcopis et subiectis. Maius est enim spiritualiter occidere corpus prelati vel animam, quam corporaliter corpus occidere, cum hoc potest esse meritorium utrobique, sed propter occisionem corporalem communitas prelato privabitur; igitur evidencius propter aliquam maiorem. Et per consequens rex vel comunitas, dotando suum episcopum qui exhinc dissipaverit legem Cristi, meretur prelato vero destitui, cum deus iustissime illud facit. Et utinam comunitates usque ad non gradum ex ista lege privarentur prelati cesareis! Et pari evidencia carerent episcopi et archidiaconi officialibus et decanis, cum aliis ministris, principaliter pro questu temporalium introductis; et purgaretur ecclesie Cristi a fecibus, posita in ordinacione Cristi primeva. Et idem est iudicium de rege vel domino, episcopum vel curatum dei servicio proditorie distrahente, et in perdicionem regni celorum suo servicio mancipante. Et patet irrationabilitas legis "Omnis utriusque sexus" iuxta sentenciam rationis secunde.

Ex istis colligitur quod homo extolleretur super omne quod dicitur deus, qui pro lege statueret quod deficiens

1. oppositionem A. 15. qui A; quot B. 16. non pro nisi AB.
17. vera A. 18. quasi B; *ib.* quod AC. 21. corporis A; *ib.* carnaliter BC. 23. occasionem C; *ib.* carnalem C. 31. ministeriis AB.
34. domino deest C. 35. distrahentem omnes MSS.; *ib.* regis B.

sic confiteri semel in anno, eo ipso taliter puniatur;
 tum quia ex lege dei non sit fundabile, nec deus
 requirit talem coercionem, ut insons (sicut fuit beata
 5 virgo) vel alius per annum cavens a crimine taliter
 sit confessus. Ymmo, sicut obediencia facta deo sufficit
 ad salutem sine obediencia humanitus adinventā, sic
 videtur de confessione dum caret fructu fundabili ne-
 cessario ad salutem, sine obediencia humanitus adinventā;
 Ymmo, per idem posset statui quod confitens solvat
 10 annuatim confessori suo pecuniam aut sibi equivalens
 plus vel minus. Sic enim non minus laborat meridiana
 seduccio. In cuius evidenciam tolle lucrum, oblacionem
 decimarum, et questum qui ex confessione insurgeret,
 et confessio non curatur. Ideo videtur quod pater mendacii
 15 adinvenit hos modos nephandos ad sacerdocium in-
 viscandum, cum undique melius exhortacione publica
 subiectis proficerent.

Unde glosari posset lex predicta: quod omnis homo
 debet confiteri deo continue (qui est sacerdos proprius
 20 cuicunque) et de quanto confessio ex maiori caritativa peni-
 tencia fuerit sive generalior sive particularior, de tanto est
 melior. Sed verisimile est quod declinantes in obligationes
 ad tradiciones accidentales que fastum et questum sapiunt,
 fuerunt remoti ab ista sententia. Ideo videtur melius
 25 fidelem exuere duplicitatem et oleum adulacionis, et
 pure secundum legem Cristi levem et mundam fideles
 instruere. Nec iustificat legem predictam quod in ipsa
 multa bona et rationabilia sunt comixta; quia sic est
 in mandatis et tota vita diaboli, cum deus non aliter
 30 ipsum permetteret sic regnare. Lex autem cristiana debet
 esse solum *lex domini immaculata convertens animas*, et
 Ps. XVIII, 8 per consequens recusari debet a cunctis fidelibus propter
 comixcionem cuiuscunque atomi anticristi.

it is not
 founded on
 Holy Writ; and
 God does not
 require that an
 innocent person
 should confess.
 Obedience to
 God suffices;
 obedience to a
 human law is
 superfluous.

And as the
 effect of the
 law is to give
 profits to the
 clergy, it might
 as well be
 enacted that all
 the faithful
 should pay so
 much a year.

The law might
 be explained
 thus: all men
 must
 continually
 confess to God,
 who is then
 proper Priest;
 but this was
 probably not
 what was
 originally
 meant.

So it is better
 not to exercise
 duplicity, but
 follow and
 teach the pure
 law of Christ.

There is good
 mixed with evil
 in this Church
 canon, but only
 Christ's law is
 immaculate.

8. sive A; sine obia A. 6—8. sic — salutem twice B. 18. gloriari A.
 20, 21. penitencia — sive deest A. 21. principalior C. 33. atomi AC.

4. It is a tradition to be found in Catholic mystical works,
 that the B. V. Mary, after the Church was founded, used to
 confess and take Holy Communion every day. This practice
 is also recommended to priests in several religious orders.
 23. *Verisimile* is a very mild expression indeed.

CAPITULUM NONUM.

The necessity of confession to a priest examined.

Some say this sacrament was instituted after Adam's sin; but no priest was there.

Others that it was after the sin of Cain; which opinion implies that the first confession was a bad one.

Others make it begin with Achan's confession; this supposes public penance.

Others quote St. James, who advises only a general confession.

The last opinion derives it rather from tradition than Scripture; in which case it would not be binding.

Habita invalidudine legis predictæ, licet faciat multa A. bona, superest rimari alia testimonia, quod necesse est confiteri presbitero. Recitat enim glossa ordinaria super principio dist. 5^o in de penitentiis 5. opiniones in ista materia.

Prima dicit quod institutum fuit sacramentum penitentie et iniuncta vocalis confessio sacerdoti statim in paradiso post peccatum, dicente domino ad Adam, gen. 3^o, *Ubi es?* quasi diceret: "penitens, considera statum tuum!" Sed illud non moneret, nisi ad penitentiam mentis domino revelandam, cum non fuit tunc supra Adam sacerdos aliquis preter deum. Secunda via dicit quod confessio cepit a Caym fratricida, quando, gen. 4^o, dixit dominus ad eum: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus?* Sed tunc sacramentum haberet malam et inanem originem; nec innueret nisi confessionem fiendam deo.

3^a dicit quod incepit tempore legis date Josue 7^o, quando Josue dixit Achan: *da, inquit, gloriam deo et confitere michi quid feceris.* Sed istud videtur concludere quod penitentia publica sit populo facienda. 4^a via dicit quod penitentia cepit tempore legis gracie, dicente Jacobo 5^o. *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem ut salvemini.* Sed illud non videtur sonare nisi in confessionem generalem reciproce fiendam a populo.

5^a opinio glossantis est quod melius dicitur confessionem institutam a quadam universalis ecclesie traditione, potius quam ex scripture auctoritate; et illa est obligatoria ut mandatum. Sed videtur quod deus non dedit hoc mandatum in lege completissima quod

1. Cap. *deest omnes MSS.* 2. *Initial II in red ink C.* 3. bona *deest AB.* 11. *mouet B.* 15. *deus dixit B.* 18. *Yozue C.* 19. *Achor A;* Achar C. 25. *in pro a A.* 27. *universalis deest AB.* 29. *obligata A;* *ib.* ut mandant A. 30. *debet A.*

- non obligat cristianum. Item, ecclesia eciam triumphans
 nichil precipit nisi auctoritate sponsi Cristi; et per
 consequens, si tradicio ecclesie sit licita, potissime fieret
 auctoritate scripture, que est verbum domini; nec videtur
 5 ecclesiam universalem istud statuuisse, nisi secundum
 parvam partem vocate ecclesie. Ymmo religiosius viavit
 ecclesia, antequam introducta fuit ista consuetudo de
 confessione privata fienda proprio sacerdoti; ymmo, cum
 ecclesia instituit multa mala que religionem Cristi
 10 debilitant, videtur nimis levis evidencia, si ecclesia
 illud instituit, ergo bene. Instituit multas leges de
 5.4^a dotacione ecclesie quas fuisset melius non fuisse; | et
 multas bonas leges instituit de prelatiis et clericis, et
 ille in contemptum domini dei sunt plurimum suspense.
 15 Ideo oportet rimari aliud fundamentum quam consue-
 tudinem ecclesie. Item, talis confessio adinventata dat
 occasionem presbitero symoniace perquirendi pecuniam;
 quod foret malum periculum. Et consequencia patet, eo
 quod sophisticari potest ex iniunctione penitencie quod
 20 pecunia sit sic lucrativa presbitero, ut patet ex experiencia
 comuni; ymmo sic posset sacerdos, subiciendo sibi totum
 populum, subvertere legem Cristi. Cum ergo caret fun-
 damento dei, ut alia mandata, licet contempnere:
 videtur quod superfluit ista statuere. Et ad hoc vadunt
 25 rationes facte superius. Sequitur enim: non fundatur
 in scriptura; ergo non est verum vel credendum.
- Videtur itaque quod oris confessio sit de lege nature,
 supposita fide. Nam naturale est omne animal inniti
 iuvamini, si indigeat; sed maxima indigencia animali
 30 rationali peccanti foret liberari a peccato: ergo debet
 inniti iuvamini, illo supposito. Et cum impossibile sit
 liberari a peccato, nisi mediante confessione, patet quod
 omnis criminosus debet de lege nature humiliter con-
 fiteri. Assumptum patet ex hoc quod corpora inanimata
 35 iuvantur a suis potestatibus, tam agendo quam resistendo;
 et evidencius de lege nature patet illud de homine.
 Nam homo persecutus fugit naturaliter ad locum refugii,
 sicut naturaliter exponit manum pro capite; quia, cum

Even the Church triumphant commands but by Christ's authority; such a tradition could not else be lawful. Only a small part of the whole Church has made this a law; and before it existed, things went better.

Many bad laws have been made by the Church, and many good ones allowed to fall into disuse.

This confession besides gives occasion to much simoniacal extortion.

It ought therefore to be considered as superfluous.

Yet vocal confession belongs to the law of nature, if we admit revelation. The greatest need of man is to be delivered from sin; now this implies vocal confession, as a necessary means thereto.

Every natural want supposes recourse to the means of satisfying it.

1. It'm C; *ib.* triumphans eciam C. 2. scripture sponsi B. 6. vict^a A.
 11. enim BC. 14. domini *deest* BC. 16. diligenter inquire *in marg.* A.
 18. eo *deest* AC. 19. h'riech o dron g^e r're i'ty'n re' *in marg. probably abbreviated Bohemian words* A. 21. a gap after sacerdos A. 23. ac
pro ut B. 24. idem *pro hoc* B. 26. igitur C; *ib.* verum *deest* BC.
 27. probans quod quis naturaliter debet confiteri *in marg.* B. 31. cum
deest B. 35. partibus AC.

But sin,
separating man
from God, is
infinitely worse
than its
punishment;

for the
blindness
ensuing there-
from causes us
to make small
account of
virtue and
holiness.

God alone frees
from sin; and
He does not,
unless the
sinner makes
an effort: which
is penance,
according to the
Fathers.

It follows that
vocal confession
of one to
another is
necessary, since
as any man
ought to help
his brother in
bodily danger,
he ought to do
so in spiritual
peril too.

omnis substantia appetit naturaliter esse, necesse est
ut appetat media necessaria ipsi esse. Et secunda pro-
positio patet ex fide, cum peccatum, dividens hominem
a deo, sit maxime deo odibile; in tantum quod per
peccatum fit homo infinitum peior quam bestia vel
aliquod malum pene vel aliud pure malum pro ma-
licia pene. Nam iusticia dei infinitum plus per se
punit pro crimine, quam punit bestiam vel aliud pure
pro malicia pene. Ideo omnis pene est deus auctor,
sed non culpe. Et patet quod infinitum plus et optacius
foret hominem liberari a crimine, quam a pena; quia
in priori stat perpetua salvacio tam corporis quam
anime. Sed secundum non respicit tale nisi per accidens.
Et patet quod discrasia et cecitas ex peccato faciunt
quod tantum parvipendimus virtutum mundicias et pur-
gacionem a crimine. Et quantum ad terciam proposi-
cionem, patet quod nemo mundatur a crimine nisi per
deum; nec deus iuvat nolentem aut invitum ad graci-
am. Ideo necesse est quod iustificando de peccato displiceat,
et auxilium in mente a deo postulet. Et hoc est penitere:
ut patet de penitencia dist. 3^a, ex auctoritate Ambrosii,
Augustini, et Gregorii. Et hec ratio quare peccatores secundum scripturam
nec in mente penitent, sed in vocem prorumpunt,
petentes auxilium a deo. Et ex eadem lege patet, licet
non ex tanta inclinacione nature, quod peccator debet
confiteri fratri suo. Nam naturale [est] secundum fidem
communione sanctorum, quod unumquodque membrum
ecclesie iuvet aliud quo ad salutem anime consequendam.
Ideo, sicut est naturale hominem inniti adiutorio alterius
in periculo corporali, sic evidencius est hominem inniti
suffragio alterius in periculo anime criminalis. Et sicut
natura movet ad antecedens, sic ad consequens; ut
videlicet apciori modo infirmus petat fratris sui suffra-
gium, detegendo sibi morbum spirituale cum eius

3. \widehat{ho} (= hominem) A. 7, 8. vel aliud — pene *deest* AB. 10. quod
deest B; *ib.* optacius A; optacius B. 15. \widehat{pui} pedig A. 19. nota quid
est penitere *in marg.* B; *ib.* iustificandus B. 24. voce C. 27. \widehat{Na} nale
fm A; *ib.* est *deest omnes MSS.* 28. unumquidque A; unum quod
que C. 31. hominem *deest* C. 32. alterius *deest* C. 34. valet *pro*
videlicet A; *ib.* peccat A.

circumstanciis, ut medicinam et suffragium meriti apcius consequatur.

Unde tempore ante legem fiebat communiter confessio soli deo, 2^o tempore legis fiebat communiter confessio 5 deo et homini; deo omnino, quia impossibile est quod sine illo facta confessio homini valeat. Unde coram populo, coram prelato et coram sacerdotibus fiebat publice talis confessio. Coram populo et coram principe Jos. populi: patet Josue 7^o, de Achor, facinus suum publice Josue et populo confitenti. Et nota quod Josue VII, 19 non fuit sacerdos vel de tribu Levi, ut deduxi alias ex scriptura; ut patet in decretis. Et patet quod lex dei mandat confiteri publice principi et eius populo coram Lev. XIII, sacerdotibus: patet Leviticus, 13 et 14^o, de leprosis. Et XIV passim meminit Cristis Luc. 17. *Ite, inquit, et ostendite vos sacer-* Luc. XVII, *dotibus.* Et illa confessio ac eius iudicium debuerunt 14 fieri publice, sine tali auriculacione; ymmo semel in anno debuit populus in summo sacerdote publice confiteri et crimina imprecata capiti hirci emissarii in desertum ipsum emittere, ut patet Levit. 16 and also once a year, when the High Priest chased the scapegoat into the wilderness.

In novo vero testamento, quo apparuit gracia salvatoris, fuit diu confessio facta deo et domino Jesu Christo Under the New Law, confessions were first made to God and Jesus Christ, but there was no private confession to men; as appears from Scripture, and especially from the penitential tears of Peter.

ut patet de conversione Petri et Pauli, et fidelium in 25 primitiva ecclesia conversorum; ut patet Matth. 26; Acta 2^o, 3^o, 4^o, 5^o et 9^o; ubi patet quod dicti apostoli et multa milia post peccata gravissima sine tali confessione privata sunt conversa ad dominum. Unde decretum de penitencia, dist. prima: *Magna pietas; Petrus in Act. II, actibus apostolorum legitur dixisse penitenciam agite et 38 baptisetur unusquisque vestrum;* quod de interiori penitencia, non | exteriori, dictum accipitur. Item Ambrosius 54^b super isto Luce 23^o, ubi dicitur quod Petrus post negacionem Cristi *flevit amare*, "lacrimae," inquit, "lavant 35 delictum quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrimas petri

3. communiter *deest* B. 4. soli — confessio *deest* C. 8. illa pro illo BC. 7. et *deest* A. 9. 10. Yozue C. 11. dixi A; *ib.* in pro ex C. 12. after decretis, a blank space A; *ib.* Et pro ut A. 15. ondite (*sic*) C. 18. in *deest* B; *ib.* sacerdoti B. 22. Cristo *deest* BC. 23. privatum C. 26. 5^o *deest* BC. 33. 22^o BC.

18. In summo. I have preferred this reading, taking it to mean: in the person of. 31. Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. 1, c. 5.

lego, satisfaccionem non lego''. Et idem ascribitur Crisostomo de penitencia, dist. 1. *Lavat.*

Afterwards, when the Holy Spirit no longer visibly assisted the Church, it

became necessary to consult holy priests in confession; but this was long before the time of the Lateran Council, and was done freely.

Ex post, inquam, quando defecerunt miracula et spiritus sancti accepcio in signo sensibili, necessitata fuit ecclesia ex religione legis nature sacerdotes sanctos consulere confitendo; ut patet tempore Augustini, et diu post. Unde lex predicta, quam dicitur Innocencius tercius constituisse in Lateranensi consilio, fuit per multos centenos annorum post Augustinum. Et ita confessio que debuit esse summe voluntaria, perversa est ex arte principis huius mundi in exaccionem servilem; ut vel sic pateat luciferina potencia in papa, nedum seducendo vel captivando corpora, sed animas subditorum.

There are therefore three sorts of penance: one made to God alone,

with true fruits of repentance

and emendation of life, which is necessary for salvation;

another made to a man, in order to receive a spiritual remedy, which proceeds from the law of nature,

Et ita est triplex penitencia sive confessio peccatoris: prima est devote facta deo, quam Cristus precipit, Matth. 3^o. Et Baptista cum eodem themate exorsus est: *penitentiam*, inquit, *agite; appropinquat enim regnum celorum*. Et Matth. 3^o precipit phariseis *facere dignos fructus penitencie*. Cum enim penitencia sit displicencia de priori vita mala cum sancto proposito convertendi, patet quod sicut fructus arboris, herbe, vel terre est illud carius fruibile quod procedit de fructificante, sic fructus penitencie est virtus fruibilis et operacio virtuosa. Ideo dicunt sancti quod non sufficit displicere de malo preterito; sed cum emendacione vite oportet deo satisfacere pro commisso, et niti per medelas scripture cavere posterius de lapsu. Isti ergo sunt digni fructus penitencie. Et istud oportet omnem peccatorem sub pena dampnationis servare.

Matth. III, 2

Sed secunda penitencia et confessio fit recte homini ad recipiendum ex parte dei spiritualement medicinam, criminis sanativam. Et de tali penitencia et confessione locuntur sancti doctores et leges ecclesie. Et illam dixi esse de lege nature, licet inclinacio in penam peccati plurimum sit sopita. Omnis enim lex dei est lex prime et multe leges dei sunt leges nature secunde. Omnis vero lex iniqua vel rationi contraria est lex diaboli et lex vicii, non nature; quia autem alii restrin-

1, 2. Crisostomus A; *ib.* lavant B. 4. sensibili *deest* C. 7. Innocencium 3^m *omnes* MSS. 13. vel *pro* sed A. 22. fruibile A. 31. lex nature *in marg.* B. 37. ergo A. 38. Et *pro* quia autem A; Et quod alii C.

Decr. Grat. De Poenitentia, dist. I, cap. 2. But no chapter begins with *lavat*.

gunt legem nature per descriptiones infundabiles, est labor inutilis. Et ista confessio instituta est per deum ante legem datam Moysi, et roborata est per Cristum cum Joh. 20 dicat apostolis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum, et quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.* Superflue autem dedisset apostolis istam potenciam, nisi subditi eorum tenerentur rite E. confitendo peccata sua illis detegere. Ideo beatus Jacobus 5^o c. dicit communiter: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra.* Et notat Hugo, libro 2^o de sacramentis, parte 14^a, causam quare Cristus non dedit aliis preceptum confitendi peccata apostolis, sicut dedit eis potenciam remittendi. "Audi," inquit, "quare voluit Cristus ut a semetipso surgat confessio, ne quasi extorta vel coacta 15 videretur, cum egrorum sit diligenter salutem querere, et deum de sufficientibus medicis providere." Et hinc, ne contra legem nature cogatur populus adire imperitum medicum vel inertem, dicit Jacobus tam sacerdotibus quam secularibus in confuso quod *confiteantur alterutrum* 20 *peccata sua*, non quilibet cuilibet, sed quilibet alteri ydoneo.

In 3^o autem signo magi pharaonis defecerant, exigentes ut cuicunque voluerint limitare, ut audiat confessiones alterius secundum formam et tempus quod ipsi limitare voluerint, oporteat de necessitate salutis confiteri 25 taliter; ut patet in lege predicta. Et talem legem non reor Cristum posse statuuisse. Et illam terciam confessionem quam nescitur describere vocant quidam coactam; que, quamvis sit nude limitata humanitus, tamen tantam vim ponunt in ipsa, quod solum illa sit 30 sacramentum et nemo possit salvari, nisi ipsam acceperit secundum formam quam papa limitat. Et in ipsa sunt plena indulgentia et innominata carismata: sic tamen quod confessus faciat quidquid sacerdos mandaverit, licet fuerit summus hereticus et maximus ydiota. Sed isti 35 parum notant quomodo Cristus, antequam istam pote-

confirmed by Christ's institution, giving His apostles power to forgive sins; which power would be useless, unless they knew those sins by confession.

Hugo of St. Victor points out why Christ does not speak of confession; because He wished it to come spontaneously, not by force.

But the third sort is the sort referred to by the Lateran Decree;

and though merely human, it is exalted into a necessary instrument of salvation, and a source of endless indulgence and grace; provided only the priest be obeyed, whoever he may be.

4. Nota in marg. A. 11. causam deest B. 10. hugo in marg. B.
17. populus deest C. 18. inertem C. 20. sua deest C. 22. audiant C.
26. statuere BC.

8. It here appears that Wyclif, though most opposed to the canon "Omnis utriusque sexus", would go much farther than the very general advice to confess, given in the Book of Common Prayer. He says *tenerentur*, and admits an obligation in conscience to confess, not once a year, but as often as necessary. His difficulty is to find a priest not *prescitus*, and not actually in mortal sin. Cf. p. 140, l. 20.

Yet Christ
before he gave
this power to
the Apostles,
said: Receive
the Holy Ghost:
without that
gift, no priest
has power.

In such a
confession, it
may happen
that the
confessor shall
commit mortal
sin, and yet
the penitent be
absolved by
God;
or that the
penitent may
not be absolved,
for want of
contrition;

or that both
confessor and
penitent may
please God by
the confession.

As a rule,
unless the
parish priest is
reasonably
suspected of
grievous sin, a
parishioner
should confess
as often as he
needs it.

This is an
answer to all
allegations of
Canon law; and
Innocent's
decree is to be
set aside, partly
on account of
his secular
ambition, which
moved God to
give two poor
orders to His
Church.

But these turned
aside quickly;
and now they
think nothing of

statem dedit apostolis, dixit eis: *Accipite spiritum sanctum*, quasi doceret quod solum viris apostolicis, habentibus spiritum sanctum, conferat talem vicariam potestatem. Quicunque ergo antistes, romanus vel alius, non habuerit spiritum sanctum, sequendo Cristum iuste vivendo, sciat se esse alienum a vicaria potestate huiusmodi, sicut est alienus a numero eorum quibus hoc verbum domini fuit dictum.

Et patet quod peccator quandoque confitetur vocaliter presbitero in hoc peccanti mortaliter, licet ipse nichil indulgencie vel carismatis conferat confitenti, tamen deus cui confitetur contritus, dat gratiam et absolucionem a crimine. Et istud contingit communiter ratione criminis penitenciarum. 2^o contingit peccatorem fecte confiteri deo et cuicunque | sacerdoti bono aut malo, et non absolvi propter defectum contricionis, sine qua non absolvitur a deo, et qua posita, a deo absolvitur eo ipso. Et 3^o contingit peccatorem absolvi a penitenciario. F. utroque promerente ex legitimo officio; et hoc raro hodie contingit, sicut contigit in ecclesia primitiva: cuius magna causa est sacerdotem cupiditas.

Et patet ex istis quod parochianus debet confiteri sacerdoti proprio quocienscunque egerit, dum modo non sit sibi probabiliter suspectus de symonia, de fornicacione vel alio crimine, propter quod debet scire sacerdotis comunicacionem magis sibi officere, quam prodesse. Et sic possunt intelligi omnes leges in oppositum allegande. Illa autem monstruosa lex "omnis utriusque sexus," que dicitur per Innocencium 3^m edita, quia non fundatur ex fide scripture, eadem facilitate contrahitur qua proditur. Et revera suspecta est lex ratione persone, que quia tamquam anticristus aspiravit ad summum gradum dominii secularis necessitavit ut deus mitteret ad consolacionem ecclesie duos ordines paupertatis. Sed illi, quia non pure fundabantur in lege domini, sed nimis in tradicionibus humanis; ideo, cito relicto itinere Cristi, lapsi sunt late in devium anticristi. Jam enim qui negaverit fidem

4. igitur C.

6. vicario potestatis omnes MSS.

9. patet deest B.

10. et licet A.

13. contigit A.

14. contigit A.

18. contigit A.

20. contigit A; *ib. before* in contigit B.

31. probatur omnes MSS.

32. aspicerat B.

22. If the Lollards followed this rule of Wyclif, they must have counted amongst the most devout of the parish, in the eyes of many a priest.

scripture tamquam summe hereticam censetur catholicis et subtilis. Sed qui negaverit traditiones pape, licet fidei scripture contrarias, dampnatur et punitur tamquam hereticus; ut ubi Paulus fidem accepit a domino quam 5 tradebat ecclesie, vocat regulariter sacramentum altaris, quo ad naturam suam, panem, ut patet Cor. 10 et 11^o: statuit sibi hec secta ex auctoritate huius capituli, quod quicumque vocaverit sacramentum illud in natura panem, et in figura corpus domini, tamquam hereticus iudicetur. 10 Sed debet vocari ex baptisatione eorum infundabili accidens de genere quantitatis. Et hii glosant fidem scripture, sanctos doctores, et leges ecclesie per suum contrarium. Et sicut fecte secuntur Cristum in paupertate voluntaria; sic fingunt sibi tunicam in hostia, per 15 quam vident eum oculo corporali. Et illa tunica, ut inquiunt, est infinitum invalidior et abiectior quam vestis qua superinduimur. Et ubi Urbanus quintus, tante auctoritatis ut Innocentius III^{us}, dampnavit ut heresim asserentem quod homo videt corpus Cristi in 20 hostia oculo corporali, ut noverunt multi modo superstitis: hii, contra decretum pape et libros proprios, clamant quod vident sic corpus Cristi in hostia; et, cum ipsa sit infinitum subtilior quam tela aranee (quia nullam habet opacitatem materie quam vident eius quantitas 25 vel qualitas), esse ibidem. Et hii infringunt auctoritatem pape, et faciunt quod quidquid dixerit preter fidem scripture sit propter suum dicere plus suspectum.

G. Sed obicitur per hoc quod ad omne opus meritorium viatoris potest ipse cogi, supposita desidia. Sed iuxta 30 dicta meritorium est laico confiteri omnia peccata sua proprio sacerdoti; ergo ad hoc potest cogi. Sed per quem, nisi per papam, qui statuatur ad hoc legem? Sic enim coegit Cristus Paulum Act. 9, et precepit ministris tempore legis gracie ut intrarent ad cenam novissimam, 35 ut patet, Luce 14. Et idem confirmatur ex dictis beati Augustini epistola Et concordant multe leges, ut patet 23 q. 6, *Scismatici*; et alibi. Hic oportet videre super quibus cadit coaccio. Et constat iuxta philosophos,

denying God's word, and everything of withstanding Papal traditions: As in the case of the Eucharist. Here they condemn as a heretic any one calling it Christ's body in figure; yet they name it an accident, wresting Scripture, the Fathers and ecclesiastical law. They imagine a garment covering Christ in the Host, through which they see Him with the bodily eye (a doctrine condemned by Urban V); and this garment, thinner than a cobweb, is, they say, the indication of Christ's local presence there.

Objections (v). It is lawful to compel any one to do a good deed, if he be slothful: confession is allowed to be meritorious, and none but the Pope has power thus to compel. This doctrine is founded on Scripture, words of St. Augustine, and many canons.

7. statuunt AB. 17. superinduitur B; super *deest* C. 24. mediate A; *ib.* quam *deest* BC; *ib.* cuius BC. 25. est C. 30. sua *deest* BC. 31. igitur C. 34. ad *deest* B. 36. a blank space after epistola omnes MSS.

25. I think that *corpus Christi* ought to be understood after *qualitas*. 37. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars. C^a XXIII, qu. 6, c. 1.

Answer.
Coercion only
applies to
exterior acts,
whereas
confession is
more an act of
the will than
faith.
Faith must be
free: *a fortiori*
confession.

Men should be
induced, not
forced, to
confess.

As regards
exterior acts,
force may be
employed, but
this is the duty
of temporal
lords,
not of the Pope.

This law
reduces many
to despair, and
many of the
elect are
hindered in
their way.
The Man of
Sin, as he
contradicts the
Holy Ghost
about the
Sacrament,

contradicts him
also as to the
liberty which
the faithful
should enjoy.

quod solum super operibus corporalibus vel extrinsecis
ab actibus voluntatis. Confiteri autem est actus vo-
luntis magis quam credere. Sed de ipso credere dicit
Augustinus, super Joh. omilie 26, quod nemo potest
credere, nisi volens: ergo multo magis nec meritorie 5
confiteri. Et quamvis apostolus dicit, Romanorum: *Corde* Rom.
creditur ad iusticiam. ore autem fit confessio ad salutem, X, 10
tamen [ir]religiosum foret cogere hominem vocaliter con-
fiteri. Confessio igitur debet induci per sanctam predi-
cationem, sicut fecerunt apostoli, et non per stultam 10
coaccionem, sicut fecerunt posterii fidei scripture ignari.

Habito itaque super quibus operibus cadit coaccio, quia
super operibus extra voluntatem, que sunt inductiva ad
vitam meritoriam: videndum est ulterius, qui debent
sic cogere. Et constat quod domini temporales, ut patet 15
ex decreto Ysidori 23 q. 5. *Principes*. Quid ergo pape
et legi mandanti quod quilibet confiteatur sub gravi
pena proprio sacerdoti? Nam multa milia cristianorum
credunt quod sine hoc non possunt salvari; et sic,
propter sacerdotis maliciam et legis iniquitatem, despe-
rant, non deo penitencia salutifera confitentes; et multi
predestinati ex ista lege pestifera sunt tardati. Que
igitur ratio ad captivandum populum prius liberum
ut sic contagiose comunicet cum membro diaboli? Sed
sicut homo peccati contrariabatur spiritui sancto in suo 25
apostolo, docente quod *panis quem frangimus* | sit sacra- 35^b
mentum eukaristie; ipse autem, sub pena dampnacionis
heretice, mandat scole sue confiteri oppositum (scilicet
quod illud sacramentum non sit panis sed accidens, ut
fingunt, de genere quantitatis); sic spiritus sanctus mandat 30
in comuni apostolorum consilio, Act. 15, quod religiosi
sui observent libertatem et facilitatem in qua ipse eos in-
stituit. Sed anticristus captivat eos per legem contrariam,
ut verificet dictum apostoli, Thessal. 2^o, de anticristo
prophetatum, quod extollitur super omne quod dicitur 35
deus. Condant igitur leges veras implicitas in sacra scrip-
tura, vel melius leges vitales in ipsa explicitas exequantur.

1. operibus *twice* A. 2. aut A. 8. religiosum *omnes* MSS. 6. Con-
fessor A. 12, 13. cadit — operibus *deest* C. 17. lege B. 23. captivum A.
34. 2 Thess. B. 36. Condant C.

8—10. Note these two lines: they contain the chief ground
for Wyclif's objection to the canon *omnis utriusque*. 16. Decr.
Grat. 2^a Pars, C^a XXIII, qu. 5, c. 20.

II. Sed secundo obicitur per hoc quod Augustinus, Hugo, Linconiensis et alii sancti videntur dicere quod oris confessio sit de necessitate salutis, ut 2^o de visitacione infirmorum: "Non," inquit, "deducat te illa sompniancium
5 supersticio, que musitando confirmat quia salvat, inconsulto sacerdote, ad deum peccatorum confessio". Et sequitur: "coram sacerdote confiteri habes ipsius quod iudicium subire debes". Item Hugo de sacramentis, libro 2^o parte 14^a. "Hii," inquit, "qui confiteri nolunt peccata
10 sua, salvari non possunt". Augustinus dicit, "non potest quis iustificari a peccata, nisi confessus fuerit ante". Item Beda in epistola Jacobi: "Sine confessione," inquit, "peccata dimitti nequeunt." Et multa sunt dicta similia, que inculcat. Item, Linconiensis in tractatu suo de con-
15 fessione probat multipliciter quod confessio est necessaria ad salutem. Quamvis enim in lege veteri, quando deus non fuit homo, non fuit taliter confitendum, tamen in lege nova, quando verbum est simul deus et homo, confitendum est simul deo et homini. Et videtur, cum
20 homo peccando offendit in deum et proximum, quod confiteri debet utrique et satisfacere, iuxta doctrinam Cristi Matth. 5. *Si offers munus tuum ante altare*, et cetera. Et idem dictum dicunt sancti concorditer plus quam de eucharistia. Sacramentum itaque tam utile
25 ecclesie est servandum. Hic teneo tamquam fidem quod cristianus adultus potest in casu salvari sine confessione vocali facta proprio sacerdoti. Nam eque misericors et viam facilitans veniendi ad beatitudinem est deus in lege nova sicut fuit in lege veteri. Sed in lege veteri
30 fidelis salvari potuit sine tali: ergo et in lege nova. Nam toto tempore legis nature non fuit hoc observatum; sed sine sacerdote salvando facta est sepe generalis confessio. Eciam tempore legis date non legitur iniuncta vel facta talis confessio. Sed multi in bellis et in sacer-
35 dotum absencia creduntur probabiliter sancte obiisse.

Objections (2).
According to many Doctors, oral confession is necessary for salvation.

Hugo of St. Victor says that without confession of sins none can be saved; so does Augustine, and Bede.

Grosseteste holds the same view. Under the Old Law, it was necessary to confess to God alone; now that God is man, we must confess to God and to man.

Answer. It is an article of faith that a man can be saved without confession. God is not less merciful now than under the Old Law; but both before the Law and under it men were saved without confession made to a priest.

1. Obieccio in marg. B. 13. in causa pro dicta A. 18. simul deest B. 20. homo deest A; ib. in deest B. 21. ac BC. 23. dictum deest BC. 25. ecclesie deest C. 32. tuit sacerdoti AC; ib. est deest AC.

25. This is an article of faith not only for Wyclif but for Catholics too. But they understand it in this way. Any man that has perfect contrition, proceeding from the love of God, is restored to grace without confession; yet he is obliged to confess, *if possible*. On the other hand, attrition, or sorrow for sin proceeding merely from the fear of Hell, absolutely requires confession.

If the Apostles
had confessed,
the Holy Ghost
would surely
have let us
know of it.
Scripture in
many places
asserts that
God pardons
the contrite
sinner.

And Christ
healed sinners
without their
confessing.

Again, if a man
should spend
his whole life
virtuously
without
confession, he
will be saved
on that account.
God can give
His grace
without using
the priest's
ministry; if so,
He can also
save without it,
as in the case
of Cornelius.
We do not hear
that Peter
received
absolution.

Lazarus coming
forth from the
grave bound, is
a figure of such
spiritual
resurrection,
performed by
God directly.
And when
priests are bad,
God does not
deprive Himself
of his power
because of that.
Ambrose says
that unless the
priest has the
Holy Ghost,
and prays

Et idem creditur de apostolis et aliis sanctis de tempore
legis Cristi, qui se confessi fuissent, spiritus sanctus
non fuisset immemor explanasse. Et confirmatur ex fide
scripture. Nam psalm. 31 dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor adversum*
me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti impietatem
peccati mei. Et Ezech. 18 dicitur: *Si autem egerit impius*
penitentiam ab omnibus peccatis suis que operatus est, et
custodiret omnia precepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iusti-
ciam, vita vivet et non morietur. Omnium iniquitatum eius
quas operatus est non recordabor. Et idem patet de Cristo
sanante peccatores, licet non sibi vel apostolis sint taliter
confessi. Et concordant glosse sanctorum et leges ecclesie:
ut patet de penitencia dist. 1^a, *magna pietas.*

Item, stat hominem non confiteri et virtuose agere
usque ad mortem, servando iusticiam sine hoc quod 15
confiteatur taliter sacerdoti, sed eo ipso salvabitur:
ergo, stat hominem salvari sine confessione huiusmodi.
Assumptum patet, quia omnia ista fuerunt per se et
immediate per gratiam; sed nimis blasphemum foret
dicere quod deus non potest vel nunquam dat gratiam, 20
nisi mediante tali ministerio sacerdotis; ergo eque blas-
phemum est dicere quod nullus peccator potest salvari
sine tali confessione facta sacerdoti. Sic enim deus
iustificavit Cornelium Act. 10, antequam fuit visitatus
per Petrum. Nec loquitur de absolutione Petri, sed de 25
eius predicacione. In cuius figuram Luc. 17 dicitur quod
10 leprosi, dum ibant se ostendere sacerdotibus, sunt
mundati. Et, Joh. XI, legitur Lazarum vivificatum et
de sepulcro egressum antequam fuit solutus institis per
apostolos: que omnia figurant deum sepe solvere ho- 30
minem a peccato, vel sine tali presbitero vel antequam
tradiciones inventas dixerit super eum: quia horrenda
blasfemia foret dicere quod postquam sacerdotes ydo-
latrarunt virtute tradicionis eorum deus preclusit sibi
potenciam dimittendi per se peccata sine talibus mediis. 35
Sed quando fuerunt sacerdotes sancti, tale adiutorium
non quesivit. Nam secundum Ambrosium in libro 1^o
de penitencia, nisi sacerdos habuerit spiritum sanctum

Ps.
XXIX,
13
Ezech.
XVIII,
21

10 1.

Joh.
XI, 44

1. *fuit de tpe A; de before tempore deest BC.* 2. *si sic B; ib.*
fuisset C. 3. *esset A.* 4. *29 ideo pro nam B.* 5. *eius deest B.*
10. *que A.* 14. *non deest B; ib. conteri C.* 17. *after confessione,*
tamen *in marg.* B. 18. *fuit C; ib. et deest A.* 23. *deus deest B.*
24. *iustificat A.* 28. *lacarum A.* 29. *institis A; inscitis C.*

et orando confesso meruerit, non absolvit. Unde Cristus preclusit decem leprosis aditum et presenciam sacerdotibus propter eorum maliciam, Lu. 17. Et quod precepit apostolis solvere Lazarum, quid ad illos, tantum a
 56^a 5 vita apostolica alienos? Non enim est } obediencia deo
 et ecclesie ut adeat sacerdotem leprosum, postquam fuerit plene absolutus.

Item, in baptismo et eukaristia, que sunt sacramenta expressissima in evangelio, contingit deum dare rem
 10 sacramenti sine sacramento sensibili: ergo, multo magis in sacramento penitencie minus fundabili. Assumptum patet de baptismo sanguinis et fluminis, que sepe dantur sine baptismo fluminis. Et rem sacramenti eukaristie sepe accipit quis non sacramentaliter, sine sacramento
 15 sensibili: ergo evidencius sepe accipit absolucionem criminis a deo sine absolutione sensibili sacerdotis. Unde Ambrosius libro secundo de penitencia. "Si," inquit,

K. "semel Cristus pro omnibus immolatus est, itaque quocienscunque peccata donantur, corporis eius sacramentum sumitur." Unde, ut ostendi alias, non existente
 20 penes nos aliquo sensibili sacramento, contingeret fideles meritorius manducare corpus Cristi gloriosum in celo, quam iam manducatur sacramentaliter in hostia con-

Matth. XII. 30. secrata. Sicut enim *generacio adultera signa querit* in

25 vestibulis et ritibus adinventis, per que destruitur cultus et attencio ad signata; sic tota religio modernorum deprimitur in sacramenta sensibilia, cultoribus signorum

Coloss. III. 1. dimittentibus *que sursum sunt querere*, et prorumpentibus in istam blasphemiam, quod deus non potest dare rem

30 sacramenti, nisi ipsi adiuerint, ministrando signa que ipsimet sompniant. Et ebullivit hec heresis in magis blasphemum mendacium, quod deus pepigit signis eorum assistere regulariter, dando gratiam et non dando salutem vel gratiam sine illis. Quo contra: sicut legio thebaica

35 gloriose martirisata beatificatur in celo sine confessione huiusmodi, sic usque hodie Greci sancte et devote observant se a peccato sine confessione auriculari, confitendo deo secundum doctrinam Crisostomi super epistolam ad Hebreos; et ponitur in de penitencia dist. 1^a.

40 "Non tibi dico," inquit, "ut te prodas in publicum

meritoriously, his absolution is not valid. Christ ordered the Apostles to loose Lazarus; but these men are not Apostles. Nothing can oblige a man who is cleansed from sin to go to a leprous priest. If the baptism of blood and of the Spirit gives regeneration: it the Eucharistic grace is often given without the sensible sign: a *fortiori* the same may take place for Penance.

And it we had no visible sign of Christ's Body, it were better to feed on Christ, glorious in Heaven.

All the attention of men is now turned towards external signs, and the things signified are forgotten; in so far that they blasphemously imagine that God has made a covenant not to give any grace without them.

Many martyrs have been saved without confession, and the Greek Church does not impose it as an obligation to all: Crisostom quoted.

2. preclusis A; *ib.* additum C; *ib.* pñcia; A.

4. lacarum A.

6. audeat A.

9. explñ'a (*sic*) A; expressiva C.

18. que *deest* after

ita C. 22 gloriosum *deest* A.

27. cultorum A.

31. sompniant A;

ib. ebulli; A; ebullit B; ebullit C.

35. et non dando *twice* A.

38. 2^m A.

Contrition alone
is absolutely
necessary; the
rest is
accessory, and
it is wrong to
equal human
observance to
Christ's Law.

So to reply to
the objections
in detail, we
must note that
there are two
extremes of
error of which
we must
beware: one, of
believing that a
man ought in
no case to
confess; the
other that
confession must
follow certain
strict lines.

Augustine's
words refer to
the former
error; and it
may be the duty
of an ignorant
layman to
confess to a
good priest.

If the layman
knows more
and the priest
less of God's
law, the latter
should confess
to the former;
and in the case
of equal
knowledge on
both sides, as
in Augustine's
time, confession
should be made
to the priest.
The difficulty
of finding

neque apud alios accuses, sed obedire te volo prophete
dicenti, *Revela domino viam tuam*: ante dominum igitur ^{ps} XXXVI.
tua confitere peccata, ante deum iudicem cum oracione
delicta tua pronuncia, non lingua, sed consciencie tue
memoria." Quicquid autem dixerit Graciosus vel alii, hoc 5
cadit sub precepto tamquam necessary ad salutem, et
aliud est sepe *de bene esse*. Radix itaque erroris stat in
parificatione tradicionis humane, cum lucrum sapiat,
mandatis domini; sicut religiosi nostri dicunt quod omne
mandatum sui prelati privati prepositi debet servari ut 10
mandata domini, eciam plus quam Cristi consilia. Et in
ista ficta obediencia est nimis magnus lapsus religionis
cristiane; et per hoc patet responsio ad doctores.

Pro quo notandum quod duplex fuit error extremus
circa confessionem peccatorum faciendam homini. 15
Primus dixit quod nemo debet in casu aliquo homini
confiteri, et contra illud invexerunt doctores predicti.
Secundus error maior surrepsit cum sectis signa colen-
cium, dicens quod nisi quis confiteatur secundum formam
et tempus quod ipsi instituerunt, eo ipso ex inobediencia 20
incidit in mortale. Et istam blasphemiam niterentur cuncta
fideles destruere, tenendo medium virtuosum: scilicet,
quod quandoque debet homo gratis confiteri antistiti,
et quandoque talem confessionem diffugere.

Quantum ad dictum Augustini, patet quod loquitur 25 I.
contra illos qui dicunt quod non licet confiteri homini;
et sic conceditur in casu quod aliquis laycus tenetur
de necessitate salutis confiteri proprio sacerdoti; neces-
sitate ex suppositione intelligo; ut, posito quod erret
in fide, et deus aptet sibi unum sacerdotem discretum 30
ut ipsum consulat. Et sic, versis laicis in sapientes ad
fidem scripture, et versis sacerdotibus in ignaros legis
dei et imprudentes, necesse est in casu sacerdotes laicis
confiteri. Ideo, quantum ad dictum Augustini, dicit
fidelis quod posita paritate sapientie sacerdotum et 35
ignorantie laicorum cum ceteris paribus (sicut fuit in
tempore suo) laici debent sacerdotibus confiteri. Verso
autem ordine ad contrarium, non debet fieri talis
penitencia generalis. Ideo imprudenter est constituere
generaliter talem legem, cum non habeant potestatem 40

1. dm' C. 5. ergo *pro* autem B. 9. mundana omnes MSS.
10. prelati *deest* BC. 11. triplex C. 15. peccatoris AC. 19. deus *pro*
dicens A. 27. concedatur B. 31. ac *pro* ad AC. 39. imprudentis C.

5. *Graciosus*. Perhaps a mistake for *Gratianus*.

sacerdotes ydoneos plene per ecclesiam ordinare, nec necessitatem laicos generaliter ad istud statuere. Unde sapientis est consulere ab iniquis sacerdotibus, [et] quo ad istud consilium precavere. Ideo dicit Ambrosius. 2^o

everywhere a man fit for this office shows the foolishness of the law.

5 de penitencia, quod communicacio cum malis sacerdotibus sepe nocet. "Arbitror," inquit, "quod Judas potuisset tanta domini miseratione non excludi a venia, si penitenciam non aput Judeos sed aput Christum egisset.

It is dangerous to confess to bad priests, as Judas did.

Math. XXVII, 4 *Peccavi, inquit, quod tradidi sanguinem iustum. Responderunt, quid ad nos? tu videris!*" Et tantum est hodie periculum confiteri stultis sacerdotibus sicut tunc fuit conlitteri summis sacerdotibus Iudeorum.

Et quantum ad dictum Hugonis, patet quod intelligit eundem sensum: videlicet, quod subditis egentibus con-

Hugo of St. Victor speaks in the same sense.

15 silio sacerdotis ex ignorancia debent sacerdotes prudentes consulere. Nec movet, ut arguit, quod istud non expresse

56^a percipitur in scriptura, quia per idem | non debet servari oppositum, cum non exprimitur in scriptura. Et sic loquitur de confessione fienda deo, quod est simpliciter necessaria ad salutem. Confessio autem fienda

He says: If confession is not commanded in Scripture, neither is it commanded to abstain from confession.

20 homini [nunc] est ex suppositione necessaria, et nunc nocet. Unde, quia ex utraque parte potest esse defectus, intendendum est fidei scripture, que debet a sacerdotibus predicari, et in partem omissionis istius ewangelisationis

This relates to confession made to God; the other is now necessary and now hurtful.

25 [non] oportet confessionem et alia sacramenta introducere ad gravamen ecclesie. Nam apostoli usi sunt ewangelisatione, non tali confessione; et diu post ipsos sancti heremite qui multis annis sine tali confessione vixerunt in heremo; et sic credo esse hodie multos in orbe.

30 Ulterius quantum ad dicta Lyncolniensis et quorumcunque doctorum quos oportet curare in ista materia, patet quod militant sub eadem sententia. Nam merentes in penam peccati sui habere stultos prepositos qui nesciunt ewangelizare, oportet habere aliam maneriem

As for what Grosseteste and the other doctors say, they are of the same mind.

35 in ordinacione. Et hinc credo quod ad sanandum ecclesiam a morbo quadruplici, scilicet ab ydolatria, a symonia, ab apostasia atque blasfemia, oportet uti cauteriis,

As for those who as a punishment for sin have had bad priests set over them, the cure would be to deprive the latter of their benefices.

3. et *deest omnes MSS.* 15. debet A. 18. in scriptura *deest C.* 21. nunc *before est deest omnes MSS.; ib. et non C.* 22. *extraque A; ib. de fide pro defectus A.* 25. non *deest omnes MSS.* 27. 28. et *vixerunt deest A.* 28. qui *deest B.* 29. celo A. 35. quod *deest A.*

25. I incline to believe that there are several words wanting after *ewangelisationis*; if not, *non* must be supplied before *oportet* as I have done.

The general confession at the beginning of Mass is allowed to efface small sins, and great ones too if there is contrition; and without that no absolution can avail.

Private confession too is needful, but it must be free. And satisfaction to all who may have been injured must follow; without which there is no pardon.

temporalia que vocantur cleri substantia auferendo. Valet itaque omnis confessio facta in ecclesia ut in misse inicio; quia, ut dicit Hugo ubi supra, delet peccata minora, et indubie peccata maiora, dum adest contritio; et sine illa non potest eciam papa absolvere. Et quantum ad Lynconiensem, conceditur quod confessio eciam privata est necessaria, sed non exacta, vel ydolatra, vel onerosa. Et sic confitendum est post incarnationem deo et homini, ut fuit in lege veteri. Quod si peccator confiteretur privatim cuilibet in quem peccaverit, nimis diu foret antequam celebraret, quia indubie peccavit in deum et in totam universitatem creatam. Ideo rationabiliter ordinatur in missarum iniciis, quod homo confiteatur generaliter deo et toti creature rationali, quod non fuit superflue ordinatum; sed oportet quod in particulari satisfaciat cuilibet quem offendit, quia aliter non est sibi vera confessio facta nec deo.

1. ^{tpa} A; *ib.* vocatur A; *ib.* v3 A. 2. communis C; *ib.* ut in *deest* C. 3. hug^e A. 4. innumera A. 6. est *pro* eciam A.
6, 7. privata eciam est C. 7. ydolāt^m A. 8. on^{2o}a A; avara *pro* onerosa BC. 9. sed B. 10. Inquam A; *ib.* peccaverat B. 15. non *deest* A. 16. in quem B.

CAPITULUM DECIMUM.

Sed 3^o obicitur per hoc quod penitencia primo vel 2^o modo dicta non est descriptibilis, nec docetur quomodo fieri debet; igitur diminute proceditur.

It may be objected that there is no possible definition of penance in the 1st and 2nd sense. We deny this. Confession is the act of him that confesses; it is either internal, external, or both; either of something good, or of something evil;

5 Hic negatur antecedens, cum in principio proximi capituli describitur. Confessio enim est actus confitentis, et sumitur nunc pro confessione extrinseca, nuncque pro confessione intrinseca, et nunc mixtim. Sumitur etiam nunc pro confessione boni laudabilis, et nunc
10 pro confessione peccati dampnabilis: primo modo sumitur crebrius in scriptura; ut, Matth. XI, dicit Christus: *Confiteor tibi domine, pater celi et terre*, etc. Et
Math. XI, 25 Luc. XII, 8 luce XII, *quicumque me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et filius hominis confitebitur eum coram angelis dei* etc. Et Joh. 1^o de baptista legitur, quod *confessus*
20 *est quia non sum ego Christus*; que confessio utique veritatis est maxime necessaria; nec valet confessio peccati, nisi de quanto est confessio veritatis.

and should in any case be true.

Quod autem datur occasio in confessionibus ad-
20 inventis fingere falsitatem, indicat illas confessiones originari a patre mendacii. Nec sollicitor illas confessiones exactas describere, cum exactores primo peccant in grammaticam, dicentes: *Confiteor* (sponte fateor), peccata mea *coactus*, et indubie peccant consequenter in aliis
25 scienciis et in fide. Optima igitur differentia pro descriptione huius confessionis foret dicere quod sit confessio exacta per regem superbie propter questum. Nam plane constat fidelibus ex aliis factis curatorum, quod multi non sollicitantur circa confessionem subditi propter

This is a point in which forced confessions often fail. There is in any case a grammatical error, since *to confess* means *to speak out freely*. The specific difference between this confession, and all others is that it is exacted by the King of Pride and for lucre.

1. Capitulum XIII. A. 3. de scrupulis AB. 7. que *deest* C. 12. etc. *deest* BC. 15. etc. *pro* hominibus — dei A; *ib.* de *deest* C. 16. quia *deest* C; *ib.* que *deest* BC; *ib.* itaque B. 23. dicentes A; dicente B. 23. 24. sponte sed fateor mea facta coactus C. 24. facta pro peccata B. 25. differentia *deest* B; in C. 26. huius *dra* B; confessionis huiusmodi C. 29. maxime propter B

It is a fact that most priests only question about tithes etc.

If the money offerings were taken from them, they would no longer hear confessions.

Would that all men knew well that they ought no more to confess to such idolatrous, leprous, simoniacal heretics, than to the devil!

Idolatrous, for avarice is idolatry; simoniacal, and deprived of the power of the keys; heretical, and therefore to be shunned as heathens. We may not even salute such a one, much less confess to him. It were better to confess to God alone than to such a man.

If the confessor, commanding the penitent to give money, even hints that it should go to himself, he should be shunned in future. If he directs alms to be given without

sanitatem sue anime, sed potius propter questum. Cuius indicium est, quod confessor solícite querit de decimis et oblacionibus directe vel indirecte; iniungit penas pecuniarias, et omittit quod foret magis necessarium subditis ad salutem. In cuius confirmacionem tolle 5 pecuniam a penitenciarío et spem lucri, et videbis quod renuet officium huiusmodi confessiones audiendi.

Et utinam omnes confitentes forent plene informati, tam intellectu quam affectu, quod nullo modo confiteantur solitarie tali presbitero quem sciunt vel probaliliter credunt plus stare pro confessionibus istis, ut fastum et questum habeat, quam ut anime confessi lucri faciat. Nam omnes tales penitenciaríi sunt ydolatre, leprosi, symoniaci et manifesti heretici. Nulli tali homo debet scienter vel reputative plus confiteri quam diabolo; 15 ergo conclusio. Nam omnis talis antiquatus in avaricia, *que est ydolorum servitus*, est infidelis deterior; que ergo communicatio Cristianí ad Belial? Item, talis symoniacus caret clavibus ecclesie, et ex comunicacione contaminat ipsum qui deberet habere super hoc conscienciam: ergo, 20 cristianus non debet tali penitenciarío confiteri. Item, talis hereticus est fugiendus *ut ethnicus*, ut docet Cristus Matth. XVIII. Ymmo, quicumque ei *ave* dixerit *comunicabit eius operibus* ex consensu; ergo, nemo debet illi 17 secretum peccati prodere tanquam Cristi vicario. Nam 11, 11 consciencia sua debet dictari sibi oppositum: debet ergo peccator confiteri deo et non solitario homini, si non assit nisi penitencia huiusmodi sacerdotum.

Et ad probandum dictam ydolatriam, utinam omnes confitentes | unite subtrahant questum a suo confessore, 30 57^a ut videant si cum Paulo querat *animas non pecuniam* confessorum. Quod si iniungat penitenciam pecuniariam, limitando (directe vel indirecte) quod ipse habeat, contritus debet ipsum auffugere; cum nemo debet tali apostate taliter obedire. Quod si iniungatur penitencia 35 per distribucionem pecunie in confuso, fiat aliis egenis, non sibi participio, quia licet fuerit aliunde indigens, tamen ut sic est indignus elemosinam eciam a deo recipere. Quod si 3^o extorquet pecuniam, iniungendo graves et irracionabiles penitencias, ut pecunia redimantur, auffugiat 40 confessorem et contritus confidenter accipiat sacra-

2. solícite C.
Cristianus C.

13. fiant A.

18. Cristi A.

10, 21. igitur talis

Eph.
V, 5
B.

Matth.
XVIII,
17
Joh.
II, 11

Act. V, 41
 5
 10
 mentum. Quod si negatur subditis a prelato, adiecta excommunicatione et censuris aliis, gaudeat de persecutione quod *dignus sit pati tot tribulationes in nomine veritatis*; et considerando humiliter persecuciones et obprobria que Christus pro nobis pertulit ex malicia sacerdotum, manducat meritorius, quia spiritualiter iocundius, gloriosum corpus Christi in celo, quam minus promerens comunicans sacramentaliter cum applausu presbiteri. Deus enim non potest in necessariis suos fideles deserere.

Verumtamen innitendum est vere prudencie, confortando membra ecclesie, ut constanter agant atque celeriter pro destruenda civitate Babylonica et meretrice que in ipsa presidet, cum excluduntur a celesti Jerusalem qui consensu finalis inpenitencie signo bestie sunt signati, ut patet Apoc. 20 et 25. Contempnat itaque fidelis prudenter leges bestie, abhominans hoc porisma, quod "si quidquam statuit, licet sit falsum notum huiusmodi, eciam debet sibi parere, faciendo quod iubet, donec decernat oppositum." Sic enim extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus, cum exigit tantam obedienciam sicut Christus, et super hoc potest errare ex libertate arbitrii. Nam iuxta hoc principium anticristi, si bestia erraret perpetuo, fidelis debet perpetuo ipsam consequi in errore et sic auflugere veritatem, que est Christus, et diabolice sequi illam.

C. Unde tria sunt principia anticristi; primum iam dictum est, quod in voluntate bestie, ac si esset deus, universa sunt posita, licet notorie obviet legi Christi. Secundum principium hominis peccati, quod generatio spiritualis filiorum dei nedum consequitur generationem carnalem hereditarie, sed generationem localem ex electione perfinda constituta. Tercium principium ex istis pullulans est quod plus ponderatur vocalis confessio quam ipse instituit, quam cordis contritio quam deus instituit et requirit.

Sed redeundo ab istis blasfemiis, videndum est secundum doctrinas sanctorum, quomodo oris confessio debet fieri. Ponit autem lyncolniensis 108º, quod patenter hec

specifying, they should be given to others, not to him.

Should he impose unreasonable penances, in order to get money, the faithful should leave him and take the Sacrament after due contrition.

And if excommunication ensues, let them rejoice and communicate spiritually.

We must act prudently, firmly, and promptly against Babylon; for all those that bear the mark of the Beast shall be excluded from Heaven.

Especially let us abhor this principle: that whatever may be decreed, whether right or wrong, should be submitted to.

This is the first of three antichristian principles; the second holds that spiritual generation may depend upon election made in a certain place; the third, that the confession of the lips is better than contrition.

How oral confession should be made. Five requisites: hatred of sin,

8. communicatus AB. 9. fideles suo (sic) C. 11. 12. confortandi B. 15. assensu B. 16. 20 et deest B. 22. Christus deest B. 25. sequi C. 27. Nota 3ª principia anticristi in marg. B. 33. pullula constitutum C. 33. 34. est pullulans ex istis, quod C. 37. Nota lyncolniensem in marg. B. 38. eorum pro oris B. 39. deo 108º C: ib. pten' A.

sorrow, resolve
not to fall again,
confession when
possible, and
satisfaction.

Long quotation
from
Grosseteste.
Hatred of sin
means hatred of
all sin; not of
one only;

and this
implies that
whatever can
be done to
destroy sin
in others and
in self is really
done.

A man who
persecutes sin
becomes
righteous
thereby.

And this hatred
must be
perpetual;
therefore there
must be a
resolve never
to sin again.

And confession
is implied in
hatred of sin,
since this helps
to destroy it.
As Hell is the
penance of the
impenitent —
infinite but
compelled

quinque secuntur penitenciam: peccati odium et dolor, velle
nunquam ad peccatum redire, (si oportunitas adest) peccati
confessio, et satisfaccio. Qui autem odit peccatum, quia
peccatum, odit omne peccatum. "Unde," inquit, "patet quod
qui vere penitet de uno, penitet de omnibus. Unde qui 5
videntur sibi odire aliquod unum peccatum et amore
amplectuntur aliud, non oderunt illud quia peccatum
est, ac per hoc nec illud oderunt, sed oderunt aliquid
comitans illud; ut aut infamiam aut dampnum aut
penam aliquam. Item, qui odit peccatum, quia peccatum, 10
odit omne peccatum ubicunque; sic ergo vult illud
occidi et non esse ubicunque est possibile illud occidi
et non esse: ergo, vult quodlibet peccatum occidi et
non esse in quolibet viatore; maxime autem illud vult
occidi in se, ubi sibi plus nocet. Sed si hoc vult non 15
tepentem nec saucia voluntate, agit ut occidatur peccatum
in quocunque, quibus potest correpcionibus, mali dete-
stacionibus, boni persuasione, exempli ostensione: peni-
tens itaque persecutor est peccati et iniusticie; sed qui
peccatum et iniusticiam persequitur, quomodo non bonus 20
et iustus est penitens? ergo eo quod persecutor est
mali et iniusti, iustus et bonus est. Verum igitur peccati
odium est odire illud propter se, quia peccatum, quia
malum, quia summo bono oppositum: cuius veri odii
signa sunt odire illud esse in omni homine, in omni 25
tempore. Item, si odit peccatum et vult illud non esse,
vult (modis quibus potest) agere ut sint ea que peccatum
evacuant; ac de his est compassio et oracio bonorum. Vult
ergo bonis que de hiis docent peccatum manifestari, ut
eorum oracione et compassione speciali possit deleri. Unde 30
qui vere penitet, confitebitur, si potest. Item, cum in D.
peccato criminali (quia de criminalibus hic intendimus) sit
infiniti boni amissio, ymmo infiniti boni spontanea abieccio,

3. quod A. 5. de omnibus *in marg.* C. 6. amare A. 8. a'd A;
aliud (*clare*) C. 11. igitur C; *ib.* w^t A. 12. occidit A. 13. igitur C.
15. occidere C; *ib.* sibi *deest* BC; *ib.* si si A; *ib.* non *deest* A. 16. non
pro nec A. 17. malis C. 23. est *pro* quia *after* peccatum B. 26. w^t A.
28. hac de hisque A; at quem de his est B. 29. quibus *deet* A.
30. spiritualibus BC; possunt B; possent C.

1. *Quinque* is in all the MSS. and is repeated a few pages further; yet in the quotation from Grosseteste, I can find but four conditions of penance. Probably sorrow for sin, which he seems to include under the head of satisfaction, is counted separately by Wyclif.

nonne hec spontanea abieccio exigit de rigore iusticie, suffering — the penitent should suffer voluntarily for ever, until he is told that it is enough.

sicut in inpenitente involuntarium dolorem infinitum, sic in penitente voluntarium infinitum? scilicet, ut penitens vellet sine fine, spontanea voluntate, tantam iacturam

5 dolore, nisi is, qui sponte abiecit misericordiam, vellet

57^b huius doloris | aliquando miseriam tollere? quomodo erit penitens iustus, nisi velit infiniti boni spontaneam abieccionem semper dolere et punire, donec dicat ei is cui reconciliari cupit: Satis est? quomodo amandi sine

10 modo est dolenda amissio sine modo? Quomodo ergo in voluntate transitoria creata fuit voluntas peccati perpetua, cui in inpenitente iuste debetur et redditur perpetua involuntaria pena: ita in voluntate penitentis est dolor, et satisfaccio penalis, condicionalis saltem,

15 perpetuus. Sed misericordia iudicis aliquando terminatur; non igitur finiet vere penitens spontaneum dolorem peccati, donec *abstergat deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis* Apoc. XVII, 1. *sanctorum, ut iam non sit luctus, neque dolor, quia* 24. *priora abierunt.* Satisfaccio autem est ad honorem eius

20 erga quem est peccatum alicuius rei solucio, cuius solvens debitor non esset, si non peccasset. Quid autem est quod ad honorem dei exsolvi possit quod homo peccator deo non debeat? utique nichil. Verumtamen, si homo nunquam peccasset, nullius pene debitor esset.

25 Item, si nullum hominis fuisset peccatum, nulla esset hominis miseria, et ita nulla essent misericordie opera. Item, si peccatum non esset, nulla esset per corrupcionem defeccio boni, pro qua supplenda necessaria esset oracio. Igitur, si peccatum hominis non fuisset istarum rerum,

30 homo debitor non fuisset. Unde hec proprie in satisfaccione deo offeruntur, quorum nullum esset ab homine debitum, si nullum esset hominis peccatum; laus autem et alia forte aliqua, que in patria erunt iocundissima et nullo modo penalia; que etiam, licet homo non

Such is satisfaction; perpetual sorrow at least on the part of the sinner, and until God shall wipe all tears away. But satisfaction implies the payment of a debt with what is not already due; and as before sin no works of mercy, no orisons, no praises coming (as they now come) with effort and difficulty, were due, these may be considered as satisfaction.

5. dolere B; delere m̃a C; *ib.* nisibus B; *ib.* quem A; *ib.* unam B.
 8. is *deest* B. 9. est *deest* A; *ib.* quoniam AB. 11. c̃iata A.
 12. impietas A; cui in penitente B. 13. perpetua voluntaria C.
 15. t̃p̃ma² A. 21. Quis A. 23. p̃cto C. 24. nullus A. 26, 27. misericordie — esset *deest* B; essent — nulla *deest* C. 31. est C. 34. nullo C.

5. The text is certainly corrupt here, and the numerous variantes are of but little use. Perhaps *dolere* ought to be substituted for *dolore*.

But sin is a greater harm than the salvation of all creatures is a good; to satisfy therefore, He that is greater than the salvation of all — Christ our saviour — must be offered up with our penance.

Thus Grosseteste only mentions oral confession as a requisite in case it can be made;

while all the others are absolutely necessary conditions.

And if the right priest cannot be found, the faithful should grieve over this, and believe firmly that our Great High Priest will always give us absolution, if we are contrite. Not even the Pope could absolve without this condition.

peccasset, essent creatori debita: hec, propter corpus quod *corrumpitur*, et *aggravat animam*, et propter *legem*, *que in membris repugnat legi mentis* sunt plurimum ^{Sap. IX, 15} ^{Rom. VII, 23} penalia. Unde, in quantum sunt penalia, sunt etiam penitentialia. Item, cum satisfaciens debeat ⁵ ^{E.} rependere aliquid quod maius sit omni eo pro quo non debuisset delinquisse (non debuisset autem pro universa creatura salvanda deum abiecisce peccando); oportet igitur per hoc quod aliquid maius solvat quam possit solvere universa pura creatura. hancque solutionem solus Christus ¹⁰ fecerit: patet ergo quod nullius satisfaccio aliqua est, nisi in quantum unita est satisfaccio Christi, qui *se ipsum* ^{Heb. IX, 14} *pro nobis in satisfaccionem obtulit*, ut sic in ipso satisfaciente condigne satisfaciamus. Penitentiam autem comitatur dei miseracio, precum exaudicio, peccati ¹⁵ dissimulacio, et ipsa est cordis contriti vivificacio, in ara cordis hostie sacrificacio, dei glorificacio et ad patriam de exilio regicio."

Ex istis dictis huius sancti elicitur quod vocalis confessio facta presbitero non est necessaria nisi ex suppo- ²⁰ sicione ad delecionem peccati. Ideo nominans quinque necessaria ad delecionem peccati sic subtiliat: si detur ydoneitas et facultas, requiritur oris confessio.

Alia autem quatuor requisita exprimit simpliciter absolute; quia, ut dicit, oportet omnino satisfacere deo. ²⁵ Et cum sit ignarus ad debite penitendum pro crimine, deus dedit sacerdoti, eius vicario, potestatem consulendi et remittendi peccata ecclesie: quod non potest, nisi ecclesia confessa sibi fuerit.

Quod si caruerit sacerdote ydoneo, qui sciat discrete ³⁰ peccata discernere et pene medicinam aptare, debet dolere quod ecclesia meruit habere in penam peccati tales ydiotas yppocritas. Et consequenter debet ut fidem credere quod impossibile est summum sacerdotem cordi contrito deficere, qui intimet quomodo contritus debet ³⁵ satisfacere nisi ponat obicem.

Et debet tercio credere quod propter absolucionem vel penitentiam, etiam pape, non magis aut minus peccatum remittitur, nisi de quanto se dignificat mediante

1. causam corpus A. 7. debuit C. 9. ad pro aliquid A.
12. satisfaccioni B. 15. contrit² A; comittat² C. 18. reduccio BC.
19. dictis deest A. 30. facit C. 32. etiam pro ecclesia C. 36. obicere A.
38. papa A.

gracia aput deum; et sepe contingit quod penitenciaris vere absolvit, quando conformat se divine sentencie. Et crebrius fallit mendaciter se et populum, quando discordat a divina sententia.

- 5 Unde non lego quod apostoli remiserunt peccatum vel excommunicarunt simpliciter, nisi quando habuerunt ad hoc revelacionem; reputative autem et condicionaliter absolvimus, sicut Lyncolniensis dicit quod omnis crimin-
 10 osus est debitor pene perpetue, sicut debet dolere perpetuo, subintellige, nisi deus gracie remittat.
- F. Unde videtur quod non modica foret elemosina detegere istam pomposam blasphemiam satraparum, qua dicunt quod ipsi habent potestatem remittendi peccata ad votum, cum deus pepigit quod regulariter conformabit
 15 se arbitrio eorum. Omnis, inquam, talis est anticristus qui extollitur super omne quod dicitur deus. Nec sequitur ex isto desperacio; sed ammota heresi firmior spes in Cristo. Debet enim fidelis credere quod, si contritus (eciam Judas vel Lucifer) Cristo vere peniteat, Cristus
 58^a 20 gracie remittat; et sine hoc non valet | remissio humana, nec proficit, nisi de quanto ad istud habilitat. Error autem blasphemus est, quo peccator potens confidit in homine dicente sibi, quod pro pecunia vult peccata dimittere et ante tribunal Cristi respondere de
 25 ipsis in die iudicii. Tales enim hereses dant infidelibus seductis audaciam ad peccandum, et subtrahunt spem ac honorem quem fidelis haberet ad Cristum, dispergendo ipsa inter membra diaboli.
- Secundo, patet ex dictis doctorum quod peccator
 30 debet confiteri domino, et in casu homini, omne peccatum suum cum circumstantia agravante; ut docet Augustinus 2^o de visitacione infirmorum et in de vera penitencia dict. quinta. "Consideret," inquit, "peccator qualitatem criminis in loco et tempore, in perseverancia,
 35 in variacione persone, et quali hoc fecerit temptacione, et in ipsius vicii multiplici execucione. Et iste circumstantie communiter notantur in isto octonario huius versus: *Quis, quid, ubi, quante, cum quot, cur, quomodo,*

The Apostles are never said to have absolved without a revelation: our absolution must therefore be conditional,

and not absolute, like those priests who pretend that God has made a compact with them; the removal of this heresy should give us more faith in Christ, who would have forgiven Judas or Lucifer.

Sometimes a priest, for a sum of money, takes upon himself the sins of a great man; this is blasphemy.

Doctrine of Augustine as regards the confession of all aggravating circumstances.

It is necessary to examine:

1. contingit AC. 7. autem *deest* B. 8. lyncon C. 10. se remittat A. 17. sanior A; firmior C; *ib.* spes species C. 21. perticit A; *ib.* ad *deest* C. 23. pro pecunia quod A; *ib.* ut A et sic semper. 25. infidelibus *deest* A. 29. doctris C. 30. homini pro domino A; deo pro domino C. 32. vera *deest* C. 32, 33. penitencia, ut docetur in de vera penitencia B. 33. peccator *deest* A. 34. et *deest* C. 38. cum quo AC.

1. *Who the sinner is; as the condition of the person may render the sin more grievous:* *quando.* Oportet enim considerare gravedinem peccati, cum gravius peccat persona, que ex statu debet esse sancior; ut peccatum sacerdotis qui debet esse gravior, est dampnabilius quam peccatum simile in abiecciori officario. Oportet secundo notare speciem peccati, cum 5 homicidium comuniter sit furto gravius. Ideo oportet confiteri *quis quid* fecerit. Et tercio oportet notare locum *in quo* peccatum comittitur; quia peccatur in ecclesia et locis sacris gravius quam in campo; nec hoc solum est verum de furto, homicidio vel fornicacione, 10 sed pocius de peccatis anime, ut superbia, invidia et ira, cum aliis peccatis diaboli ipsa sequentibus. Quarto, oportet notare quantitatem criminis quoad numerum, *quociens* quis peccavit, vel quoad diuturnitatem, qua in malicia perseveravit. Oportet 5^o notare, *cum quot* et 15 qualibus complicibus peccabatur; ut in luxuria variacio persone fedate facit ad gravedinem peccati, sicut gravior est incitare personas plures et digniores ad consensum facinoris, quam foret cum paribus. Hoc dimisso, 6^o oportet G. notare *movens* vel incitans ad peccandum; ut gravius 20 peccat, qui ex pura malicia vel levi evidencia deum offenderit, quam qui ex forti incitante peccaverit. Et ideo in luxuria attenditur gravedo peccati ex presentacione temptantis ad luxum, et de aliis peccatis modus temptandi gravat vel excusat peccatum. 7^o oportet attendere 25 ad *modum* perpetrandi facinus, ut in occisione crudeliore maior malicia est ostensa; et deliberata malicia post quietem anime gravat scelera ultra hoc quod forent, si cum paribus essent subito perpetrata. 8^o, oportet *tempus* attendere, quia crimen in sacro tempore comis- 30 sum, ut in quadragesima, die veneris, et diebus festis est cum paribus eo gravior.
2. *What sin has been committed: for one mortal sin may be worse than another.*
3. *Where it was committed: if in a sacred place, &c. and this is also true, even for wicked thoughts.*
4. *How many times the sin was committed, or how long the intention has lasted.*
5. *With how many and what persons;*
6. *For what motive; whether under strong temptation or not. &c.*
7. *In what manner the deed was done.*
8. *At what time; if during Lent, or on a festival.*

Waiving all questions as to how far these circumstances render a sin more grievous, we may note that the penance enjoined should be of contrary nature to the fault;

Difficultates autem scolasticas de gravedine peccati ex istis proporcionalibus resultantes relinquo scolasticis; addendo quod pena medicinalis secundum crimen debet 35 aptari tamquam sibi contraria, cum secundum principia naturalium *contraria contrariis sunt curanda*. Ut comuniter contra triplex peccatum diaboli, iniungitur oracio cum devota contemplacione; contra peccata mundi in-

1. persone AC. 3. sanciori *omnes* MSS.: *ib.* deo gravior C.
10. est verum est A. 19. facinorum C. 21. levi *deest* AB.
23. *puccōne omnes* MSS. 24, 25. peccandi B. 31. 8^a pro quadragesima A.
33. enim B. 36. sibi *deest* C. 38. scilicet diaboli A. 39. seculi BC

- iungitur corporalis elemosina, et contra peccata carnis ieiunium cum aliis macerantibus corpus peccantis. Ymmo sicut ista tria genera criminum sunt connexa, sic pene pro ipsis sunt cum prudencia presbiteri connectende.
- 5 Sed exsuperat humanam prudenciam taxare precise quanta pena sit debita pro peccato; dicente Augustino in *de natura boni* capitulo 9^o, quod "qualis et quanta pena cuique culpe debeatur divini iudicii est, non humani". Sufficit ergo confessorum intencione pia quadam
- 10 probabilitate penam iniungere; quia oportet preter ipsam stare divino iudicio, nec tantam penam de comuni cursu contingit viatorem suffere pro crimine quin maior sit debita. Ideo prudencia confessoris stat in hoc quod iniungat penam levem in gracia sufferendam.
- 15 Unde lapsus blasphemi est dicere quod quantamcunque penam parvam sacerdos iniunxerit, non est amplior sufferenda; ymmo quod illa per se sufficiat ad salutem. Tunc enim penitentes et penitenciam huius[modi] complentes non forent amplius in purgatorio purgandi. Iterum penitenciarum haberent noticiam adequandi penam pro crimine,
- 20 sicut deus; et cum varii varie iniungant penitencias improporcionales peccatis (quia pro gravioribus penas leviores, et e contra, et pro peccatis equalibus inequales), relinquatur vel quod deus iniuste punit ex stulticia confessoris, vel quod confessor ultra deum habet potenciam
- 25 puniendi. Iterum, si quilibet posset pecunia vel favore presbiteri peccata quecunque redimere, quis timeret divinum iudicium in peccando? Ideo certum est quod nichil foret blasphemius in ore presbiteri quam dicere
- 30 quod precise penam quam ipse iniunxerit pro quocunque crimine, deus taxat. Tunc enim quicquid ultra complectionem huius pene peccator tollerat, ut penam corporis usque ad mortem, non deus bonus iuste infligit, quod est contra perfeccionem divinam, que neminem punit,
- 35 nisi citra condignum, vel misericorditer, et contra peccati gravedinem. Quodlibet enim peccatum, cum sit comissum
- 58^b in deum, est dignum pena infinitum gravi; | ymmo anichilacione, nisi deus misericorditer respiciat pecca-

against pride and irreligion, prayer; against worldliness, almsgiving; against lust, fasting. But it is impossible to fix a sufficient amount of penance for sin committed; this rests with God not with man.

It is therefore blasphemy to say that any penance, however small, given by the priest, is sufficient. If so, there would be no expiation for sin in Purgatory. As penances are unequal, God would be unjust, or the priest more powerful than He. It would be possible to be delivered from all fear of God's Judgment for money or friendship. Every temporal trouble sent by God would be beyond the deserts of the sufferer, and therefore unjust. And yet sin deserves an infinite penalty.

1. connectande B. 7. nlla = nulla A; *ib.* 4^o omnes MSS. 12. gti^t = contigit A; *ib.* quando AB. 13. gforib C. 18. hinc B. 19. expurgandi B; *ib.* Item C. 20. habent A. 21. et deest B. 24, 25. conforis C. 26. Item C. 32. illius BC. 33. ad deest A. 36. q'd lic3 C.

7. Aug. *De natura boni*, cap. 9, Ed. Louvain, tom. X, col. 604.

torem. Tales igitur blasfemi penitenciarum forent anticristi discipuli.

It follows that this confession and absolution is not absolutely necessary; and that many are not really penitent, since they do not do all in their power to take away sin from the Church.

Ex isto patet quod talis confessio, talis penitencie iniunctio et talis absolucio non est absolute necessario requisita; sed nunc proficiens et nunc nocens; 3^o patet 5 quam fecte multi penitent; cum secundum doctorem, ad veram penitenciam requiritur detestacio peccati simpliciter, sic quod peccans habeat voluntatem efficacem destruendi nedum peccatum proprium, sed quodcunque peccatum ecclesie, quantum potest, quia aliter foret 10 culpabilis ex consensu, et negligens salutem propriam non iuvaret corpus ecclesie secundum potenciam sibi datam. Consideremus itaque a papa usque ad infimum subiectum, et patebit ex isto quod falsa penitencia occupatur. Debent enim penitere quod temptacione 15 seculi a perfeccione status apostolici sunt dilapsi: de quo cum paribus, si non displicent, sunt impenitentes dampnandi. Et si de isto eos vere peniteat, debent instar apostolorum *mundum et concupiscenciam eius* 1 Joan. 1, 19 deserere, cum nemo vere peniteat qui occasionem querit 20 unde peccavit; talis indubie non amat peccatum suum extingwere, sed fovere; et periculum talis heretici nimis nocet ecclesie. Ideo totus cristianismus debet talem prelatum ut anticristum contempnere, quia eius benedictio, absolucio, dispensacio et quicquid fecerit nocet ecclesie. 25

From the Pope downwards we find false penitents; men fallen from the perfection of the Apostolic state;

worldly and avoiding no occasions of worldliness.

Such men, by their absolutions and by whatever they do, are hurtful to the Church.

The pertinacity with which the Pope defends his possessions is a mark of infidelity.

It is easy to judge of this by works; it his

Ideo nota pure infidelitatis est quod papa defendit tam infideliter partem suam. Si enim papa nititur defendere plus dominium suum quam Cristi pauperiem; si plus fovet symoniam, quam sanctimoniam; si plus intendit blasfeme confederacioni, quam sancte ewangelisacioni: quis dubitat quin sit ydolatra blasfemus et pessimus anticristus? Ista autem potest populus ex 1. operibus patenter iudicare; ut, si plus appetat vel aspirat in se ad temporalem excellenciam quam ad renuncia-

3. pene C. 16. a deest A. 17. quocunque A. 18. ipsos C.
19. γενναῖα AC. 20. quia pro qui A. 21. quia talis AC. 26. populus omnes MSS.; ib. descendit A; defendat B 32. plus pro populus C.

2. In all that precedes it is not quite clear whether Wyclif objects to a certain amount of penance, imposed and accepted, considered as merely making the sacrament *valid*, or considered as completely doing away with all further liabilities. It seems to be the latter; but if so, I doubt whether even in his time any one ventured to say the contrary *explicitly*. It would clearly be the ruin of the doctrine of Indulgences.

cionem apostolicam; si promovet ad curam anime suos
 complices quoad artem huius cure inhabiles; et si extollit
 suas tradiciones, quibus ferventer hec scelera erubescens
 1 Tim. V, 8 vel tacens ewangelium est *infideli deterior*; quis non
 5 detestatur et fugit talem refugam, ymmo nititur disper-
 dere sectam suam? Et illam sectam vel privative vel
 positive est facile fideli cognoscere: ut silencium
 ewangelizandi, carencia vitam Cristi exemplandi, et usur-
 pacio temporalia fidelium spoliandi. Optandum namque
 10 foret fidelibus anathematizari a talibus, non benedici,
 Malachi II, 2 cum deus de illis dicit: *Maledicam benedictionibus restris*.
 Aliqui itaque orando, alii hortando et aliqui concul-
 cando debent tali apostate obviare; quia Matth. 5, dicit
 Matth. V, 13 veritas: *Quod si sal evanuerit ad nichilum valet ultra*,
 15 *nisi ut mittatur foras et conculcetur ab hominibus*. Fidelis
 itaque debet credere ewangelio, postpositis falsis glosis,
 et cavere omnino ne consensu omissionis sit proditor
 veritatis.

Notet secundo fidelis, si sit falsa penitencia in epi-
 20 scopis et prelatiis, et omnino, si secundum condignos
 fructus penitencie reddent, sequendo Cristi vestigia. Nam
 omittendo hunc fructum decipiunt sese et populum, cum
 iudicent se esse non vere penitentes, sed hereticos in-
 duratos; et in isto patencius quod in castigando subiectos
 25 dimittunt leges papales super ewangelio fundatas, et
 puniunt annuatim pena pecuniaria peccatores: qualis
 peccati continuacio est dampnatissima symonia. Quid,
 rogo, dampnacijs quam relinquere legem dei atque
 ecclesie, iniuriam dei pro moneta proditorie vendere,
 30 et salutem subditi pro lucro postponere? specialiter post
 tantam temporalium habundanciam ex dotacione, post
 tantam simulatam yppocrisin, quod hoc fit ex caritatis
 fervore, et post tam avarum amplexum pecunie in curato
 neglecto improvide dispensante? Quis dubitat quin tanta
 35 macula erit aput summum iudicem severissime con-
 dempnata? Talis autem non vere penitet, nec esse mem-
 brum sancte matris ecclesie, cum apostolus dicat Eph. 5.
 Eph. V, 5 *Omnis avarus, quod est ydolorum servitus, non habet*
 K. *hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei*. Si autem non habet

temporalities
 are too much
 thought of, if
 his incapable
 partisans are
 promoted, if his
 traditions are
 extolled,
 such an apostate
 should be hated,

his curses
 wished for, his
 blessings
 spurned: he
 should be dealt
 with by
 prayer,
 remonstrances
 or open scorn.

False penance
 may be
 discovered in
 those Bishops

who set aside
 Papal laws
 founded on the
 Gospel, and
 punish sinners
 by means of
 a yearly fine:
 which simony
 renders sin
 perpetual, and
 is especially
 condemnable,
 considering the
 Bishops' riches,
 their pretended
 charity and
 their real greed.

Such men are
 only in, not of
 the Church, like
 hirelings or
 wolves.

1. qui pro quis omnes MSS. 5. et deest A; ib. contigit A. 7. si-
 militudinem AC. 11. ultra deest A. 15. hominibus deest A. 17. lit A.
 21. reddent AC. 23. esse deest C. 24. in before castigando deest C.
 28. nisi pro quam C. 34. improvidus A. 35. ma = materia A.

hereditatem in ecclesia, sed tamquam mercenarius vel lupus sit in illa, quis dubitat quod non sit de illa? quia, iuxta fidem, nemo est sponsa Cristi vel membrum eius, nisi dei filius adoptivus, et iuxta argumentum apostoli, *si sit dei filius, tunc est heres* et per consequens habet hereditatem in regno Cristi et dei. Et sic creditur quod multi capitales secundum iudicium mundi sunt in ecclesia, non de illa. Ista igitur est ydolatRIA practica, qua fedatur ecclesia; et ad illam consequitur ydolatRIA et heresis multiplex circa sacramentum corpus Cristi; et omnia ista ex eodem fonte processerunt, cum secundum apostolum, *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*. Sed attenderemus ad dictum beati Ambrosii in *de bono mortis*, dicentis quod "mors est mundi liberacio, virtutum suscitacio et a carcere ad quietem transicio. Primum patet de morte Cristi. Pro secundo dicitur quod nichil plus valet ad domandum carnis desideria quam pensare qualis erit mortua; et tercium patet de morte iustorum, per quam anima liberatur de carcere corporis corrupti contubernio et coniungitur angelorum consorcio. Sed ne timeamus hoc bonum, oportet mundum contempnere et circa spiritualia ac eterna contendere. Unde Cristus, Johannes 14, in proximo moriturus dixit: *Surgite, eamus hinc*, precipiens ut unusquisque surgat de terris, erigat animam humi iacentem, ad superna excitet aquilam suam; illam aquilam, de qua dictum est: *Renovabitur sicut aquile iuventus tua*; ad animam hoc dictum est. Anima ergo nostra, sicut aquila, alta petat, supra nubes volet, renovatis splendescat exuviis; celo volatus suos inferat, ubi in laqueos incidere non possit. Avis enim, que descendet ex alto, vel que in altum se extollere non potest, frequenter a laqueis capitur aut visco fallitur, aut quibuscunque irretitur insidiis. Sic quoque et anima nostra caveat ad hec mundana descendere: laqueus est in auro, viscus in argento, nexus in predio, clavus est in amore. Dum aurum petimus, strangulamur; dum argentum querimus

Rom. VIII, 17

1 Tim. VI, 10

Johan. XIV, 31

Ps. CII, 5

11. pccōnt A; processerant BC. 13. Si B; *ib.* episcopi Ambrosii B.
20. corporis *deest* A. 21. cum oportet A. 21, 22. mundus A. 23. 18 BC.
25. terre A. 26. a'qlla A. 27. ut BC. 30. in *deest* omnes MSS.
33. irretitur B. 35. viscum C.

13. Ambrosius *De Bono Mortis*, c. V, ed. Ben., t. I, col. 466. The quotation is very free, and, towards the beginning especially, looks like an abstract of what precedes.

in visco eius heremus; dum predium invadimus alligamur, to the detriment
 Quid inane querimus lucrum, preciose anime detrimento? of our soul,
 Exiguus est tibi totus mundus pro unius anime dispendio. which is greater
 Matth. *Quid enim predest homini, si universum mundum lucretur.* And our
 XVI, 26 *anime vero sue detrimentum paciatur? Aut quam dabit* passions,
homo commutationem pro anima sua? Non auro redimitur, whether lust, or
non argento; ymo auro amittitur. Mulieris decus, dum grief or anger or
temptatur, aufugit. Clavus est libido, clavus tristitia, any other, have
clavus iracundia; clavi sunt omnes passiones, que velut the same effect.
 10 *nexu quodam animam nostram penetrant et infigunt*
corpori visceribusque eius annectunt. Fugiamus ergo ista
mala."

Ex ista obstinacia convincere potest fidelis, si prelatus This attachment
 vel laicus sit in crimine obstinatus. Domini enim tem- to things
 15 porales noscuntur esse inpenitentes ex consideracione temporal can be
 L. consimili. Si enim vere eis displiceat defedacio ecclesie, easily
 qua symoniace ministrant temporalia, ut Cristi primeva discovered, in
 religio dissolvatur, ut sancta mater ecclesia ab expedito secular lords
 cursu post sponsum distrahatur et ut perturbacio regno- by their
 20 rum et reipublice faveatur; quis dubitat quin illud indifference to
 celeriter corrigerent, cum possent faciliter; nec aliter the good of the
 fructuose vel meritorie peniterent. Nec valet fucus quo Church.
 fingitur quod finem istum non intendunt, sed honorem et
 profectum ecclesie; cum ista crassa ignorancia implicat eos
 25 velle mala predicta que debent cognoscere inde sequi. Aliter
 enim oportet concedere quod nullus apostata vult pec-
 care. Debent autem temporales domini et reges precipue,
 non obstantibus anticristi legibus, de bonis cleri quorum
 sunt domini, ewangelice providere: hoc est, facere quod
 30 nec episcopi, nec rectores, nec propositi, nec abbates,
 habeant unum pedem predii vel redditus perpetui, sed
 pure vivant de elemosinis populi cui ministrant in
 spiritualibus, et specialiter in ewangelio.

Et si allegentur traditiones refuge vel iuramenta To all
 35 ydolatria sibi facta, dicant seculares concorditer cum arguments and
 Ps. II, 3 sancto David psalmo 2^o. *Disrumpamus vincula eorum* oaths alleged,
et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum. Qui habitat in they should
 reply:
Let us break
their chains and
throw away
their yoke!

2. destrimentum B. 5. dabis B; dab C. 6. homo deest BC; ib. tua BC.
 7. aurum A. 9. vere pro velut A. 10. nexu C; ib. nostram deest A;
 ib. infigunt B. 16. de fedacione AB. 17. que A. 18. expeditur A.
 19. distrahitur B. 20. loveatur BC. 25. dicunt AB; ib. inde sequi
 deest C. 27. tales C. 28. antecristinis AC; ib. et ius de B. 30. re-
 positi AC.

8. *Auffugit*. St. Ambrose has *astringit*; I only note this reading
 among many on account of its importance.

These *chains*
are the
traditions by
which the
simple are
bound;
and the *yoke*
is the bond of
blind allegiance
to Anticrist.

Christ's life,
being the best,
should be the
model for the
clergy.
It is madness to
despise pure and
drink turbid
water;
our faith tells
us that we
should imitate
Christ's life.

But the enemy
is wroth at the
very mention of
loss of his
possessions:

He prevails on
princes to
despoil a foreign
Church; and if
they should do
that out of
charity, how
much more our
own Church,
which they
should love
more!

celis irridebit eos. Vincula eorum sunt tradiciones quibus
simplices laqueantur. Cum hiis enim et prediis contexta
est tela aranee, in qua bestiole capiuntur, que gaudenter
dicerent illud psalmi 133ⁱ: *laqueus contritus est, et nos*
liberati sumus. Iugum autem est liga ceci iuramenti et 5
devocionis blasfeme, qua principes et eorum subditi
anticristo et suis complicitibus sunt subiecti. Oportet enim
fidelem credere quod Cristus cum suis apostolis cepit
sibi in conversacione bonum honoris et comodi, vivendo
vitam summe pauperem et expropriariam. Contra 10
quam si anticristus infideliter remurmuret, signent eum
tamquam infidelem freneticum vel ex contagione
infidelitatis gregis domini infectivum. Excuciant igitur
principes a se infidelitatem istam refuge. et regulentur
lege scripture, cum lex sit *immaculata*, qua anime fideles 15
ad dominum convertuntur. Stultus inquam et infidelis
foret, qui gratis biberet aquam turbidam et venenosam,
despecta aqua salutifera atque clara. Fides autem dicit
quod melius est sequi Cristum in moribus, cum aliter
sit homo membrum diaboli et non clerus. Ideo ve illi 20
qui pervertit ordinem dei propter stultam et insanam
pruriginem anticristi!

Convincitur autem ex hoc quod furet rabidus, dum
audit quod ad sui perfeccionem et exoneracionem sua
temporalia subtrahuntur; et non minus furibundus insanit, 25
dum audit perfeccionem suam salutiferam et honorem
stare in vita penali et paupere instar Cristi. Consulit
quidem et procurat quod principes sui spolient et
crucient alienam ecclesiam; quod non potest fingere
fieri pro verecundia fidei, nisi propter amorem quem 30
principes habent ad ecclesiam alienam, quam tribulant,
ut sic purgent; et tamen fingunt hoc fore in se ipsis
(qui magis delinquant, et quos principes debent magis
diligere et curare) crudele sacrilegium, non medelam.
Talis autem apostotarum duplicitas turbat mundum; 35
domini ergo temporales pro isto scelere, nisi fructuose
peniteant, sunt dampnabiles ex consensu. |

1. et dominus subsanabit eos C. 4 123 BC. 7. eorum C.
13. infideliter A; *ib.* dominici B; *ib.* infectum C. 15. scriptura C;
ib. fidelium BC. 18. clara atque C. 21. insaniam C. 23. ut
rapidus B. 27. staret B; *ib.* in *deest* B.

29. *Crucient.* Probably an allusion to the Crusade in Flanders,
against the followers of the Antipope, Robert of Geneva.

CAPITULUM UNDECIMUM.

A. 59^b Restat ulterius videre de dubiis concernentibus istam materiam. Et primo, si sit expedicius publice penitere. Et videtur, quod sic, quo ad penitentem. Nam quanto
 5 cum maiori pudore eque contritus penitet, de tanto est sua penitencia meritorior. Sed hoc fit comuniter de publica penitencia coram multis: ergo, comuniter talis penitencia foret meritorior, et sic expedicius. Minor patet per experienciam et rationem. Si enim
 10 peniteri coram unica persona sit ponderosum, foret cum paribus magis ponderosum penitere publice coram ipso et multis consorciis; cum penitenti sit evidens quod solitarius, audiens confessionem suam, sigillabit eam, nulli reserans nisi deo, non ut puniat, sed remittat;
 15 quod consilium non est ita evidens multitudini detectum.

Some questions concerning Penance.

I. Whether public penance is fitting.

The greater the shame endured, the more meritorious the penance; confession to many is still more painful than to one alone; and the penitent cannot be sure that a multitude will not disclose his sin.

Item, forma penitendi servanda exprimitur in lege nova vel veteri, cum omnis alia forma sit apocrypha, non a deo observanda; sed in utroque testamento fit mencio
 20 de penitencia publica, non privata; ergo, illa est potius observanda. Minor patet de Achan Josue 7^o, qui ex mandato Domini debuit seculari principi et populo
 Math. XXVI, confiteri. Et tantam evidenciam de confessione solitaria
 75 non audiui. Et idem patet de beato Petro, qui *flendo* of Saint Peter,
 1 Tim. I, 13 *amare* fructuose penituit. Paulus autem 1^o Thymoth. p^o.
 in scriptis publice confitetur quod fuit blasphemus. Papa etiam Marcellinus, martir gloriosus, post thurificacionem diabolo confessus est publice peccatum suum fratribus suis et processit ad martirium, ut patet 21 dis. capitulo
 and of Pope Marcellinus; while private confession is based on no such authority.

1. Cap. 11 *in marg.* B: *deest* A. 4. quo *deest* A; *ib.* punitatem A.
 10. pudorosum BC. 11. pudorosum BC. 12. ipsa BC. 14. reservans B.
 17. Ideo A. 20. non privata *deest* A; *ib.* igitur C. 21. Achor A;
 Aham C. 22. Domini *deest* A. 25. Thess. 5 A. 26. confiteri A.
 27. Marcellinus *in marg.* B.

Nunc autem. Confessio autem auricularis non ex tanta auctoritate vel utilitate legitur processisse.

It is granted that it is good to confess the same sins several times to different priests, on account of the greater confusion endured; if so, the same applies to public confession.

Item, ut scola hodie fatetur concorditer, meritorium est iterum confiteri eadem peccata eciam dimissa, quociens uni sacerdoti vel pluribus fuerint publicata, et hoc potissime propter verecundam displicenciam de comisso: cum ergo tanta vel maior potest esse pudorosa displicencia pluribus publice confitendo, videtur iuxta primum argumentum quod nedum licitum sed meritorium est confiteri crimina coram multis: sic enim absolvent multi et simul eandem personam iam mortuam, et per consequens licet eis simul in casu absolvere iam viventem. Sive enim per modum diffinicionis sive per modum rogacionis processerint multi sacerdotes absolviendo mortuum, tanta vel maior ratio est sic simul absolvere iam viventem. Ipse enim capacior est fructus talis absolucionis, cum multis videtur quod absolucio iam mortui quo ad delecionem criminis caret fructu.

And if many priests can at the same time, in any sense, absolve a dead man, they can do so for a living man too.

Insuper videtur quod sicut licet pluribus sacerdotibus simul absolvere iam viventem, sic licet sibi simul illis omnibus confiteri; quia aliter absolucio foret indignior propter confessionem huiusmodi ex maiori fervore caritatis transfusam; et dicere quod illusionem irrationabili fundatur ecclesia, foret episcopus accusare. Sicut ergo licet successive detegere eandem confessionem multis presbiteris (et sic in casu notificare eandem culpam omni homini), sic et simul.

And if several can absolve a living man, they can hear his confession.

Hic videtur mihi quod pro neutra parte est generaliter regulandum; quia dum confitens de comisso magis conteritur et maius remedium apponitur de cavendis peccatis futuris vel de possibili comittendis, de tanto est confessio laudabilior, sive facta fuerit soli deo sive deo et militanti ecclesie, abscondite vel aperte. Et si dicatur quod ista sententia non consonat legi ecclesie, dicitur ex fide quod consonat Cristo, quia rationi et ecclesie triumphanti Et si dicatur discordare ab ecclesia militanti, superest declarare, primo, quod illi a quibus discordat, sunt vera ecclesia; 2^o quod illi non in isto errant, sed in hoc fundacionem capiunt a scriptura; et

Wyclif, however, decides that no general rule can be laid down. The only point to be considered is the advantage of the penitent, the intensity of contrition, and the best remedy against a relapse. If this does not agree with ecclesiastical law, it agrees with the law of Christ.

Those who object to it must show that they

1. prodest si confitearis *in marg.* B. 5. replicata B. 6. verecundiam A. 7. igitur C; *ib.* pudorosa A. 10. crimina *deest* B. 11. absolvent *deest* B; *ib.* et *deest* B. 14. per modum *deest* A. 16. est *deest* A. 17. tamen AB 22. fervore A; fervore maiori C. 24. Sic igitur C. 27. inquit *pro* mihi C. 36. 2^o superest AB; Sed primo superest declarare primo C. 38. ex *pro* a B.

de tanto, sed non amplius, oportet fideles eis obedire. Et sic omnis obediencia reducenda est ad Christum abbatem ordinis cristiani; et alii blasfemi sunt tamquam refuge respuendi. Et si queratur, que confessio sit in maiori
 5 parte probabilior et scripture conformior: dicitur quod confessio generalis, ut patet ex dictis. Unde videtur quod diabolus, ut magis abscondat confessionis nequiciam, introduxit regulariter confessionem absconditam. Con-
 10 ceditur tamen quod quandoque expedit publice, quandoque abscondite, quandoque neutraliter, Cristi vicariis confiteri; et illam libertatem cristiani ordinis, tenendo semper religionem Cristi, debet catholicus observare.

Sed pars anticristi tantum adhuc prevalet, quod innititur isti porismati plus quam fidei: *ecclesia romana sic sentenciat*;
 15 ergo, *hoc tamquam articulus fidei est tenendum*. Et fallacia ista diaboli magis obnubilat fidem catholicam, cum multis videtur argumentum topicum: *Curia illa ex auctoritate sua illud sentenciat*: ergo, *hoc est perfidia anticristi*. Ideo cum manifestum sit ex fide, quod oportet in quocunque credibili
 20 supra illos rationem requirere, patet quod oportet quemcunque dicta illorum tamquam neutra postponere, vel contempnere ut suspecta; habemus enim fidem legis dei in copia, etsi non mendicemus peripsimata anticristi. Leges autem vel rationes opposite facilliter sunt solvende. Vel enim
 60^a 25 equivocant de ecclesia romana, vocando illam pure Cristi et Petri vicarios, vel anticristive exercent simplices per traditiones proprias et fulmina, cum minis cesareis machinatis.

Habet autem ecclesia romana usum suum et ecclesia anglicana usum disparem. plus vel eque probabilem;
 30 nec sunt contrarii, dum inculpabiliter servaverint sub-
 35 stanciam fidei cristiane; ut aliqui fideles capiunt eukaristiam specialiter die cene, et alii die Pasche. Primi sunt moti tripliciter: primo, quia Christus cum suis apostolis, quem debemus sequi omnino, illo die sacramentum illud primo instituit et comedit; 2^o, quia propter
 40 duos dies sequentes est dies illa remocior a turbacione seculari et crapula die pasce, et 3^o quia prior ecclesia, que prudencius, ita instituit. Scribitur enim in de Consecracione dist. 2^o in cena domini: "A quibusdam receptio

1. sed deest B. 3. tocius ordinis B. 4. queritur B. 11. ut et A.
 23. p ipima B; p ipia „rasura post a C. 27. in pro et AC: in B.
 29. angelica A. 30. contrarie B; contraria AC. 34. deus A. 38. illam
 pro ita A; ita BC. 38, 39. in de g. § 2^a A.

23. *Peripsimata*. Cf. Sermones II, 297, l. 21, 1 Cor. IV, 13.
 39. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 17.

are of the Church, and follow scripture. Christ alone is to be obeyed.

A general confession is most according to Holy Writ; private confession, as a law, is not so; yet sometimes it may be preferable to public confession, and sometimes not.

The side of Antichrist holds that whatever the Church of Rome decides is matter of faith; some think quite the contrary. Whenever no reason is given for any decision, it should be set aside or not noticed.

The fallacy is that the Roman Pontiff is called Christ's Vicar, and deludes the simple by his menaces.

The Churches of Rome and of England have different customs, not contrary, so long as they do not contradict the Christian faith. v. g. some take Holy Communion on Maundy Thursday, and some on Easter Sunday, for different reasons.

eukaristie negligitur, que quoniam in eodem die ab omnibus fidelibus (exceptis his quibus pro gravibus casibus inhibitum est) percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, cum etiam penitentes eodem die ad percipienda corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramenta 5 reconcilientur." Hec Sother papa, cuius evidenciam vel auctoritas non est minor quam dictum Fabiani ibidem: *Et si non frequencius*; vel dictum Innocencii 3ⁱⁱ in 5^o decretalium: *Omnes utriusque sexus*; quia tunc ad religiones privatas secundum criminarum observancias 10 nimium declinarunt. Unde patet quod tradere de isto regulas generales est presumptive stulticie.

A Canon exists in favour of the former practice, which has as much value as any subsequent decree.

Augustine leaves the faithful free to communicate every day, advising weekly communion.

Ambrose, inviting the faithful to take spiritual communion continually, says: "Let us not, like the Pharisees, bind ourselves to the observance of days, but follow reason". And though it be commanded to communicate on Easter Sunday, we should not do so if we have a sufficient reason; which may be that our devotion prompted us to take communion on Maundy

Ideo Augustinus ibidem dicit: "Cottidie eukaristie comunione accipere nec laudo nec vitupero; omnibus tamen diebus dominicis comunicandum hortor." Et 15 infra: "Dixit quispiam non cottidie accipiendam eukaristiam, alius affirmat cottidie. Faciat unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum." Et ponit exemplum de Zacheo et centurione. Item ostenditur in dicto beati Ambrosii eukaristiam esse spiri- 20 tualiter continue assumendam. "Si quocienscunque effunditur sanguis Cristi in remissionem peccatorum effunditur, debeo semper accipere, qui semper peto medicinam; ne itaque simus de numero eorum quos Cristus dicit quod *colant culicem et degluciant camelum*, non preponderemus 25 dies vel tempora, sed quandocunque ratio ducit nos accipere eukaristiam vel facere opus quodcunque meritorium, faciamus." Et ita, licet succedens episcopus romanus preceperit sub pena gravi cunctos fideles adultos in die pasche recipere eukaristiam annuatim, verum, 30 inquam, est, quod sic debent facere, nisi ratio excuset. Racio autem sufficiens est multis fidelibus quod die cene, quando fuit eis devocius, manducarunt. Et si allegatur obediencia servanda pape: moveat illud claustrales, qui observant cerimonias sui privati ordinis 35 preter necessarie introducti. Nos autem teneamus libertatem primevam legis Cristi, scilicet ut non simus

1. qm A. 14. non laudo accipere C. 17, 18. secundum quod A. 22. in testimonium et in C; *ib.* Cristi deest C. 26. conduit B. 37. ut deest C.

8. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 16. 9. See p. 112. 13. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars, De Cons. Dist. II, c. 13. 21. Decr. Grat. De Cons. Dist. II, c. 14.

oppressi iugo iudayco. In neutris vero nobis condescendamus populo cum quo vivimus.

Thursday;
for we follow
Christ's law in
liberty.

Sed gradus persone, evidencia sue consciencie, ac cetera rationales circumstantie sunt pensande; ut si
5 ipsum moveat devocio et impulsio spiritus comunicari singulariter die cene, quis papa vel cardinalis vel lex quam statuit, prohiberet? Sed esto quod insane decre-

The Pope has
no power to
lay down rules
in this manner,

10 potestas appareat: certum est quod ipsi non habent potestatem hanc legem statuere; sed usurpacione supposita, fidelis debet pro observacione libertatis Cristi hoc iugum scribarum secure dirumpere, ut patet

and he ought to
be disobeyed by
way of
protestation;

Act. 15^o, ex decreto apostolorum. Ideo, exigendo talem

for though what
he commands
may be
neither right
nor wrong, yet
he exceeds his
power by such
a law and such
penalties,
though it is
allowable on
neutral points
to agree to act
together.

15 obedienciam, debent fundare saltem eius consonanciam legi Cristi. Modo autem multa sunt neutra et possunt bene fieri vel omitti; et tamen legem statuere quod hoc fiat regulariter sub gravi pena, excedit humanam potenciam. Immo hoc temptans incurrit blasphemiam; et in

20 isto laborant propter extorquendam luciferinam obedienciam multi prepositi ordinum privatorum. Non negatur tamen quin licet in talibus neutris unam partem eligere socialiter ex consensu. Sed statuere legem condicionalem eternam vel universalem ante statuentem, excedit hu-

To make the
law universal
and eternal is
wrong; as v. g.
to make of the
habit of the
Orders an
essential
difference
between them;
what is
essential does
not belong to
human
ordinance.

25 manam potenciam; et extollens statuentem supra deum, confirmat blasphemiam. Quis, inquam, potest statuere, quod si quis religiosus mutat habitum ab albo in nigrum, a cappa in tunicam, sic de aliis ritibus per quos religiosi nostri ut per essenciales differencias distinguuntur? Cum,

30 inquam, talis veritas connexionis sit absolute necessaria et eterna, et sic supra omnem ordinacionem humanam, subiacens soli ordinacioni divine; vel sit simpliciter impossibilis: tunc non potest esse vel al aliquo ordinari. Quicumque in sectis ordinacionem talem defenderit est

35 hereticus plus vel minus. Si autem statuerit quod quicumque sic vel sic fecerit sit taliter puniendus in idem

1. introducto C. 1, 2. condescendamus C. 4. rationabiles B; ^{rona}les C.
5. quem BC. 8. invenis omnes MSS. 13. dirrupere C. 14. exigentes B.
18. fuit A; niant B. 21. negant C. 22. tamen *deest* AC. 25. excellens B;
ib. statuentem *deest* B. 28. ab albo A; a capo B. 29. d^{vur} A.
30. que communis AB. 31. tunc *pro* et sic A. 32. si *pro* connexionis;
ib. fit C. 36. statuerit ac fecerit C.

Suppose that Innocent had ordained that it was a mortal sin to take Communion on Good Friday, it would have been blasphemy on his part.

Any act that God allowed us to do or not to do, might thus be forbidden, and man could give commands which God cannot.

If God were to approve all such commands, we should return to the servitude of the Old Law.

Should Robert of Geneva make a law, and Urban VI a contrary one, God would be obliged to ratify both, and punish and reward for the same act.

redit, cum sit eadem sententia. Ut, posito quod papa Innocencius tercius | statuerit quod quicumque laicus 60^b communicatus fuerit die parasceves, non in pascha, peccet mortaliter et sic graviter puniatur, blasfemat indubie, hereticans fideles et papas qui hoc non servarunt in 5 ecclesia primitiva. Sed quid stultius? cum lex talis universalis foret supra vires hominum, ymmo supra rationem, et per consequens supra deum; et sic foret quelibet talis statuicio venenosa.

Et istud confirmatur ex hoc quod ante talem statui- 10 E. cionem foret quodcunque tale opus ex dei ordinancia liberum atque neutrum, sed post statuicionem talem, ut fingitur, est opus dampnabile, et eius oppositum ad meritum limitatum: ergo, subiacet statuicioni humane taliter ordinare, quod videtur deo non posse competere; 15 quomodo ergo liceret illiberare opus dei, quod eternaliter ordinavit esse sic liberum? Item, si opus tale incipit esse dampnabile, cum talis instituens non de facto extollitur supra deum, oportet deum verum ex statuicione servili gravare tempore gracie legem pene: 20 quod repugnat rationi libertatis et bonitatis divine. Que, rogo, libertas in deo, quod necessitetur propter statuicionem de possibili anticristi punire servum suum severius sine causa? Anticristus autem, legem istam stabiliens, petit hoc metricum proprium soli deo: Sic 25 *volō, sic iubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas*. Item, possibile est quod sicut in talibus neutris duo statuentes contrarie (nec est ratio, quare unus, quin per idem uterque) inniti debet ut statuicio sua robur habeat, et sic deus contradictoria approbaret. Summum itaque miraculum, 30 sed summe monstruosum, foret simul tempore gravare et facilitare eadem opera. Ut si gilbonensis statuatur quod omnis fidelis communicabitur die parasceves, non in pascha, et Urbanus noster statuatur, quod solum in die pentechostes vel alio quocunque, et uterque annectat penam spiri- 35 tualē, patet quod non maior foret necessitas in dicta

1. reddit C; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* eadem *deest* B. 2. tercius *deest* BC.
4. tunc *pro* et sic B. 5. *servant* = servaverunt C. 10. 11. institu-
cionem B. 14. *after* meritum *blank space*, Im B. 15. non posse deo C.
19. verum *deest* B. 22. que C. 25. proprium soli *deest* C.
27. sint B. 32. opera dei BC; *ib.* gilbonensis B. 34. petechosten (*sic*) A;
petechostes C. 36. quid A.

15. *Non posse competere*. Because it is impossible to suppose God leaving us no action that we are free to make or not to make.
25, 26. Juvenal. Sat. VI, l. 223. *Hoc volo, sic jubeo*, etc.

lege Innocentii IIIⁱⁱ, quam in istarum altera vel utraque. Ideo non dubium quin leges tales sunt plene blasfemia; Or: a given act is not punishable by God, so long as the Pope has not ordained so; but so soon as he has, God inflicts punishment.

ut sicut dicitur deum non preordinasse penam pro peccato Lini antequam papa vel alius ydiota iniunxerit; sic dicitur quod pena pro tali opere non est rationalis antequam papa statuerit taliter faciendum esse sub tanta pena, et postea deus consequitur confirmando. Et eadem est consideratio de sectis privatis, que usibilia statuunt sub anathemate non sic uti. Ideo, ut sepe dixi, multa observata ut regule privatorum ordinum sapiunt blasfemiam et heresin manifestam. Cum igitur deus dicit Petro, Act. 10. *Quod deus purificavit, tu ne commune dixeris*, qua fronte presumeret refuga per quem nullius religionis sumpsit exordium pro lege universalis vel conditionalis statuere quod vesci non libet et tegumentis non licet uti taliter sub hac pena? Honoremus igitur solum religionem institutam a domino veritatis.

F. Sed contra istud instatur quod non licet vovere quidquam facere, nec cristiano statuta edere, nec pape cum aliquo dispensare. Sed primum dicitur negando assumptum. Conceditur tamen quod oportet in omni voto humano subintelligi condicionem, *si deus voluerit*, ut patet alibi. Quando autem quis fatue vovet preter vel contra religionem cristianam, debet statim dimittere et de stulticia penitere. Nec licet concedere novas leges propter talem stulticiam obligandi, quia sic liceret a religione Christi totaliter variare, et totum genus neutrorum, vel quod Christus dictavit esse licitum ex voto et religione facere non licere. Absit ergo Cristianum presumere ut statuicione sua stolidam negacio, que vis vel veritas conexione incipiat, ymo quin liberior potest homo post progressum in religione Christi quicquid facere quod prius potuit, si non obsit apostasia implicans quod in deterius retrocedit. Deus autem facit, non quod talis non potest licite facere tale opus, sed quod modo est sibi illicitum taliter operari. Et sic talis actus non est sibi neuter, nec forte aliquis umquam fuit; sed credere quod ex nuda ordinacione humana opus sit criminisum quod aliunde foret meritorium, sapit Anticristi blasphemias; cum oportet illum in cuius manu sunt vicissitudines

Objections: If this doctrine be true, 1. no vows are right; 2. no Christian can make laws; 3. and the Pope has no dispensing power. 1. In every vow there is the tacit condition of God's approval; without which it ought to be broken. No laws should therefore be made to oblige such vows to be kept. A Christian in following his religion is freer than he was before, unless he becomes a backslider. The unlawfulness of any action forbidden by vow consists in God not allowing him to do it for the time.

3. sic C. 14. sufficit *pro* sumpsit C. 20. dispesare A. 27. variari AB.
 31. post *pro* potest A. 33. apostota impleciones quidem A; implicitas quod B. 34. aut C. 35. non modo AC. 36. Tunc B; *ib.* ibi A.
 38. unica B. 39. anticristus blasphemians A.

But to make a
crime out of a
deed, good in
itself, is
madness; God
alone gives
increase of
virtue.

2. and 3. Laws
are allowable,
and so are
dispensations,
provided they
follow
Scripture.

But laws are
now multiplied
without
foundation in
Holy Writ;
such should not
be obeyed,
and in general,
as every law
diminishes
Christian
liberty, none
should be made
without grave
reasons.

II. *Whether the
secret of
confession
should be
always kept.*

temporum dare clementum virtutum. Et sic statuere vel
vovere irrationabilia, foret luciferina demencia; vovere
neutra foret illibertans stulticia: sed vovere religiosa,
cum sint in scriptura sacra implicita, foret prudentia
faciens quod voluntas dei sit propensius executi. Sed
longe a peccatoribus et dictas leges infames statuere
ex hoc quod licet opus tercii modi prudenter
vovere.

Et sic dicitur ad secundum et 3^m, quod licet statuta
condere et cum ligatis irrationabiliter dispensare, dum
tamen lex scripture sit exemplar ad dirigendum talia
opera sapienter. Numquam autem sunt ipsa licita, nisi
deus prius illa fecerit approbando. Ideo apostoli nichil
fecerunt, nisi ex inspiracione divina, ex Cristi consilio,
vel sorte a deo propter meritum sortiencium regulata.
Sed hec ratio fuit in primitiva ecclesia, quando emer-
gebat casus necessitans. Sed modo ceci prepositi audenter
multiplicant leges quas nesciunt stabilire. Ideo fideles
debent | ipsas non admittere vel temere admissas excu-
tere, et de lege ac religione Cristi, dimissis aliis, 20
contentari. In aliis autem levibus debet fidelis modos
licitos 2^m comunem dei influenciam observare, et non
illibertando dei ecclesiam pro quocunque facto legem
statuere. Lex enim dicitur a *ligando*, et non debet statui
nisi in arduis, ut consiliis ewangelicis et preceptis; et 25
sic lex ewangelica per se sufficit sine plure. Tradiciones
autem et statuta localia, cum phas et nephas plurimum
sunt permixta. Ideo perfecti viri ipsa vel negligunt, vel,
lege dei attenta sedule, parvipendunt.

Sed 2^o principaliter arguitur de clavibus vel sigillo 30 G.
confessionis, quod licet in multis casibus confessionem
detegere. Probatur primo racionabilitas eius ex utraque
parte legis dei docentis quod debet esse publica et per

4. implicita foret prudentia faciens C. 6. saltare A. 7. opera BC.
9. sapientis B. 12. sapientis C. 15. regulatam A. 19. admissionem A.
23. Christi BC. 26. plica (sic) C. 27. plurium AB. 28. non
pro vel before negligunt A. 31. cont'onib C. 33. parte deest BC;
ib. lege BC.

30. *Sigillo*. It is known that Roman Catholic doctrine is very
absolute on this point. The priest out of confession may not
even *think* of what has been said in confession; so much so that
it is unanimously held that a priest, made aware in confession
that an assassin intends to waylay him on a journey, may not
put off the journey, nor take any precautions which he would not
otherwise have taken! This may serve to mark the independent
point of view taken by Wyclif on the subject.

consequens multis cognita. Ille ergo qui pluribus revelat confitibile non reserat nisi detegendum; quod licet bene facere, sicut deus pandet in finali iudicio, et Petrus publicavit, Act. 5. de Anania et Zaphira. Non enim
5 videtur ratio istius malicie, nisi quod fideles subtrahant a confessione auriculari intendentes confessioni publice vel confessioni quam facerent fructuose soli deo; quod videtur nedum tollerabile sed legale.

Item lex dei et comunis utilitas necessitant peccata
10 confessa private esse a confessore populo detegenda; ergo lex generaliter statuens oppositum est iniqua. Antecedens videtur; posito quod quis confiteatur Petro prius de prodicione populi, vel homicidio committendo, et licet promittat Petro, quod non vult facere facinus
15 cuius propositum confitetur, appareat tamen Petro ex signis evidentibus, quod prius confitens perverse redierit ad propositum predictum facinus committendi, tunc videtur ratione multiplici, quod talis confessio sit detegenda; primo, quia caritas ad confessum urget crimen suum
20 excludere, quod supposito aliter commodius non posse fieri quam publicandum nequandum propositum. Et idem patet ex parte populi prodendi, cui confessor iuratur, et amitteret a sibi probabile maius bonum celando. Et ex parte Petri videtur quod propter accu-
25 mulandum sibi meritum, paciendo mortem propter honorem dei et utilitatem ecclesie prodendo, in casu facinus impediret. Nam non tanta pena est iniuncta, quanta foret quecunque dei offensa.

Item, contigit sacerdotem errasse in audiendo con-
30 fessionem laici, et de illo errore quotquot presbiteris pro securitate et merito confiteri. Cum ergo ad confessionem huiusmodi requiritur in casu peccati primi laici detectio, videtur quod licet in casu multiplici peccata detegere. Si enim multi istorum sacerdotum
35 fuerint post modum degradati, vel percepti ordines indebite percepisse, quomodo non posset primum peccatum per presbiterum fore licite populo publicatum? Ut ponitur in casu quo confessor cadat in phrenesim, vel morbum alium, in oblivionem, vel loquacitatem, in
40 sompno, et sic peccatum confessi publicetur.

The Bible, always mentioning public confession, implies the contrary. To reveal the secret of confession is but to make known now what will be known at the last Day; and it would have a good effect, injuring the practice of auricular confession. Besides, if a man, having confessed an intended murder or act of treason, and it being clear to his confessor that he again intends to commit such a crime, it is the confessor's duty, for the correction of the penitent, for the good of the intended victim, and for his own good, exposing himself to deadly peril for God's sake, to reveal the fact. A priest may err in dealing with a penitent, and confess his fault to several priests, and thus be obliged to reveal his penitent's sin: if this is legal, then sins may be revealed. Or take the cases of madness, delirium, forgetfulness, talkativeness, or speaking in one's sleep: then confessions are revealed.

1. pluribus *deest* C. 13. propositi *pro* populi B. 14. wlt C.
16. redigerit A. 20. suppo^o C. 28. offensio C. 34. enim *deest* B.
35. p. modu C. 36. suscepisse B. 37. populo *deest* A. 39. in *before*
oblivionem *deest* B.

And if it be answered that they may be revealed in general terms, inadvertently, or by the express will of God: then what is the good of a law so indelinite?

Si dicatur quod licet generalibus verbis peccata detegere, et ubi oblivio premuniendi est forcior, ac 3^o in casu quo deus necessitet ad in casibus positis exprimendum: ad quid, rogo, valet lex tam artis penis astricta, et nulla sui particula explanata? Revera perinde 5 est ac si lex ista non foret posita, cum verbis generalibus, signis preter verba, et taciturnitate vel nutu contingit populum multa satis cognoscere. Vel quis presbiter accusatus de isto nesciret subterfugia reperire? aut quis presbiter, hec detegens, non foret necessitatus ista depro- 10 mere? cum scimus quod omnia que evenient de necessitate evenient.

Under cover of this law, sins may go unpunished, and priests put into difficulties, sinners coming to confess to those very priests whose duty it is to convict them.

Item, secundum cautelam huius legis possent peccata H. foveri et presbiteri intrinsecari; nec est fundamentum vel fructus ad huius legis edicionem necessitans. Ideo in 15 causa sue originis est suspecta. Quilibet enim subditus prelato posset exigere confessionem ab eo et inter alia dicere sibi crimen de quo prelatus ipsum argueret; et sic clauderetur os eius, ne liceat sibi arguere, licet videat ipse offerre ad periurium vel fidelem falsissime 20 convincendum. Cautela quidem diaboli precluderet ne presbiter testimonium perhibeat necessarie veritati; necessitatus enim confessor iurare alteram partem, iuraret cum diabolo falsitatem, et per consequens contra veritatem ipsam tegetet et foveret. 25

To hide sins is thus a sacrament of the devil;

Magnum itaque sacramentum in absconsione peccati vel sue delecionis, per quod honor dei et utilitas ecclesie lucescerent in effectu! Tale indubie foret sacramentum Tob. patris mendacii. Sed thobie 12: *Sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est; opera autem dei revelare et 30 confiteri honorificum est.* Cum igitur singulare opus dei sit peccata dimittere, patet antecedens; ymmo confessus daret gloriam deo, veritatem sui facinoris publicando. Quomodo ergo confessor suus foret sibi in hoc contrarius post vel ante? vel ymmo, fatendo quod quis est con- 35 fessor alterius, cum peccatum suum publicum sit (et supponi debet quod quilibet sit memor sic salutis sue

the penitent should publish his sins to the glory of God. When a man is a public sinner, any priest saying: *I am his confessor*, implicitly

2. $\widehat{\text{pmu}}^{\text{di}}$ (??) A; premundi B; $\widehat{\text{pmu}}^{\text{endi}}$ C.
lex B. 5. propositum A. 11. eveniunt AC.
18. tunc B. 22. ecclesie C. 33. gulam A.

3. ca^o A. 4. tunc
14. intrari omnes MSS.
37. sic before salutis
deest B.

11, 12. This is a well-known sophism alluded to in *Logicae Continuatio*, now publishing. *Omnia que evenient de necessitate, evenient; or: Omnia que evenient, de necessitate evenient.*

omnia perfecte et integre confitendo) fatetur implicate
 61^h se audivisse omnia illa facinora | a confesso. Sive igitur
 confessi sive populus iniuriatus insurgat contra confessores
 huiusmodi, deficeret in hoc, eis mortuis, causa dei.
 5 Debent enim secundum doctrinam Cristi, Matth. 18, ter
 prudenter corripere et 4^a vice deserere. Ideo evidens
 Math. XVIII, 16, 18 est quod fratres, per multos annos remanentes affectuose
 confessores hominum qui non resipiscunt sed potius
 peiorantur, consenciant suo facinori, et proditorie nu-
 10 trunt contra Cristum. Mille sunt casus in quibus deficit
 hoc legis principium, quia stabilitur super confessione
 abscondita, que est toxicum fundamentum.
 Videtur ergo quod confessio secreta, sicut quodcunque
 secretum aliud, servata prudencia, sit celandum; nec
 15 video magnam devocionem vel delectacionem in sic
 audiendo confessiones privatas. Sed postquam cessavit
 predicacio publica gignitiva filiorum dei in Cristo, fuit
 ista auricularis confessio instinctu diaboli introducta.
 Ille autem studeat glosare hanc legem et solvere rationes,
 20 qui delectatur in ea, et non videt quod in fide scripture
 esset meritorius laborandum. Meritorium quidem est
 detegere fallacias istas diaboli. Quilibet cristianus debet
 confiteri deo et ecclesie, sicut homines debent confiteri
 alterutri. Ymmo homo debet in casu confiteri private
 25 prudenti presbitero et facere secundum suum consilium;
 ergo debet ut lex statui quod omnis homo habens
 discrecionem et scienciam, debet semel in anno con-
 fiteri omnia peccata sua auriculariter proprio sacerdoti,
 Petro quidem, et in persona sua ecclesie. Sed specialiter
 30 sacerdoti data est potestas ligandi et solvendi, cum
 tamen paverit oves Cristi de suo pabulo, ut dicitur Joh.
 Joan. XVII, ult., et ligaverit vel solverit conformiter ecclesie trium-
 21 phanti; et aliter nichil sibi, et dico ad Petrum vel omnes
 apostolos, cum aliter non sit de numero eorum quibus
 35 Christus locutus est. Probabile quidem videtur, quod
 solum eis concessit Cristus hanc potestatem, qui docent
 fidem Cristi de predestinatis vel reprobis, et sedebunt
 Math. in die iudicii super sedes, iudicantes 12 tribus Israel.
 XIX,
 28

admits that his
sins, have been
made known to
him.

A priest should
remonstrate
three times
with his

penitent, and
at the fourth
relapse,
abandon him:
not (as many

Friars do)
remain his
friend and
confessor
during years of
impentence.

The secret of
confession
should be kept,
like all others,
according to the
rules of
prudence.

A summary of
Wyclif's
doctrine on
Confession: it
should be made
to God, to the
Church and
privately to a
proper priest
representing the
Church.

But if the latter
should not feed
Christ's flock,
the promises
made to the
Apostles were
not made to him;
they are
probably for
those who teach
the doctrine of
predestination
and reprobation.

1. implicate *erasum* C. 2. confessore C. 4. illis B; *ib.* mortis AB.
 5. Nota confessores debent suos confessos quarta vice obstinatos deserere
in marg. B. 6. *¶* A. 7. p *pro* per A; *ib.* affectuosa A. 14. servatur A.
 19. et *in marg.* A. 23. dicunt A. 24. alterutrum *omnes* MSS.
 27. suficienciam BC. 28. omnia *deest* B. 30. sacerdotum A. 31. aves A.
 32. ecclesie *twice* C.

Illi enim erunt perpetuo ligati vel soluti in celis, cum tam angeli quam homines beati videbunt clare equitatem divine sentencie, et gaudebunt de eius perpetuitate. Et sic viri apostolici filios suos in beatitudinem introducent, sive heremite sive simplices sive sacerdotes, eo alcius quo copiosius et perfeccius hic predestinacionis filios genuerunt. Unde tales in Petro ligant et solvunt super terram, quando dant arras ligacionis vel solucionis finalis perpetue. Et claves regni est potestas vel sciencia sic arrandi adversus quas porte *inferi* (prescitorum peccata vel predestinatorum secundum presentem iniusticiam) *non prevalebunt*; quia tunc iniquitas diaboli foret forcior dei iusticia. Ista autem operacio clavium non consequitur eleccionem vel ordinacionem humanam de quocunque Romano pontifice, sed ordinacionem divinam secundum opera Cristi vicarii virtuosa.

The key of Heaven is their science in this matter.

And this 'power of the keys' comes direct from Christ.

It is a heresy to say that every sentence of the Pope on earth is confirmed in Heaven.

All apostolic men have the power of binding and loosing, but this is not a subject for ostentation;

all honour should be given to God.

III. Several other problems.
1. Is it enough to do penance whilst in a state of mortal sin?

Et patet quante diabolus seduxit populum, subversione divine sentencie in hoc dicto. Construit enim Anticristus quod quicquid romanus pontifex sentenciat de pena vel premio, oportet omnino quod in celestibus compleatur. Et ex hac heresi pululant blasfemie infinite. Veritas, inquam, est quod ubicunque terrarum quis fuerit conversus ad deum, sive precise per deum, sive per quemlibet eius ministrum, correspondenter ad meritum participabit et premio. Viris autem apostolicis sine acceptione personarum concessit deus potestatem subtrahendi et promovendi ad talia, dum tamen conformantur divino iudicio, sicut conformatur triumphans ecclesia. Nec debet quis pompare de tali potencia, quia eius effectus est sibi absconditus, cum deus ante vel post vel impertinenter absolucioni humane vere absolvit. Ideo, ut dicit angelus, thobie. 12, absconsa magnificencia humana totus honor debet patule dari deo. Et ista est sententia Augustini cum aliis sanctis, licet hodie de potestate clavium et dimissione peccati nimium blasfemetur.

3^o principaliter queruntur dubia. Primo si sufficit hominem facere penitenciam, dum fuerit in mortali. Et constat quod non, cum existens in mortali, quidquid

4. vere A. 5. 3rd sive *deest* A. 7. gen't AC. 9. perpetuo A. 10. parte A; *ib.* parte inferi C; *ib.* peccatorum A. 17. per subversionem BC. 18. autem Cristus A. 22. quis *deest* C; *ib.* after fuerit qui C. 23. quod A; quelibet C. 25. apostolis AB. 25, 26. persone B. 26. subarrandi B. 29. affectus A. 31. absolucionem humanam B; post absolucionem vere C. 36. Nota in marg. A. 37. 1^o morli A.

10 Math. XVII, 18

25 K.

Tob. XII, 7

35

- fecerit, peccat mortaliter; multum tamen prodest facere bona de genere. Nam in predestinato preparat ad satisfaccionem finalem; in prescito vero parvificat penam, cum maiorem alias possideret. Et ad obiectum quo
 5 dicitur in fine confessionis primo peccatum remitti, et sic valeret confessio in mortali; patet quod antecedens non probatur, cum psalmo 31^o dicitur: *Dixi: confitebor*
 Ps. XXXI, *adversum me iniusticiam meam domino; et tu remisisti*
 5 *iniquitatem peccati mei.* Multorum enim peccata sunt remissa, qui non taliter confessi sunt. Ideo, sicut in materia de eucharistia nesciunt satrape quando panis sit corpus Cristi, sic nesciunt instans quo quis absolvitur a peccato; sed ab omni mortali suo reperto pro infusione gracie simul absolvitur. Et contingit quod ab
 15 solutio errare faciat. Contingit autem, quod occasionaliter faciat promereri. Venialia autem peccata remanent in quantumlibet confitente, cum remanserant in Petro et Johanne eciam post missionem spiritus sancti. Ideo musitant magnificantes claves, errantes, quomodo abso-
 20 lucio non delet veniale, cum existens in pure veniali teneatur sub pena mortalis secundum formam impositam confiteri, et dicere quod confessio delet aliquod veniale et non quotlibet quod invenitur, est infundabilis ficticia; |
 62^a sicut irrationabiliter fingitur quod indulgentia delet 3^{am}
 25 vel 4^{am} partem penitencie, quantumcumque varie, secundum quod anticristus voluerit limitare.
- 2^o dubitatur si homo sub obtentu premii tenetur multociens confiteri eadem peccata, et quando cessaret; cum confessio mentis ad deum debet esse continua.
 30 Sed non haberem subditum sic opinantem, cum superflue vexaret se et prepositum, dimitteret opus debitum, et accumularet sibi penitenciam per repetitionem replicatum inutilem; cum nec deleteret culpam, nec augeret gratiam, sed tolleret fructum operis rationabiliter interim faciendi.
- 35 Sed 3^o dubitatur si confessus sit ad opcionem positus L. facere solum penitenciam iniunctam vel aliam quamcunque,

No: for in that state every act is mortal sin. But good deeds may be done with fruit; in the elect, they prepare for complete satisfaction; in the castaway, they lessen the punishment. Absolution cleanses from all mortal sins.

Venial sins are not effaced, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary.

2. Whether the continual repetition of the same sins in confession is profitable. Negated; it is useless loss of time.

3. Whether the penitent is held to accomplish

2. bona deest A; ib. Ex C: ib. preparat BC. 7. 13 B. 8. 9. etc. pro iniusticiam — mei deest A 13. de A. 13. 14. visione B. 15. 16. occasio A. 19. musicant C; ib. erronee B; erronee C. 23. invenit C. 27. 3^o A. 30. hō A; habere B; hrcm = haberem C. 31. sed pro se A; ib. delatum A. 35. 2^o AC; ib. positus A. 36. q^mq^m A.

5. I think the meaning of this somewhat obscure passage is that sins are forgiven only (primo) at the end of confession (by absolution); against which Wyclif brings the words of Ps. XXXI. (l. 7—9).

the penance prescribed, or not: logical subtleties by which this question may be debated, and which are insoluble.

4. Whether there is not a certain spiritual kinship between the confessor and his penitent; Wyclif decides that there is, but leaves Antichrist to answer the difficulties that arise on this point.

5. Whether a man can be twice guilty of the very same sin. For a 'foreknown' will be punished for *all* his sins, and yet he may during his life have repented of them: the same sins must therefore return. Yet it is not strictly the same sin: the matter is

vel quantum licet variare. Et videtur logicis quod sacerdos iniungit penitenciam, sed nullam iniungit; sicut scit confessum suum dignum pena, sed nulla pena scit ipsum esse dignum. Nam cum pena individuatur a tempore et quotlibet aliis causis suis, nec confitens⁵ nec confessus sciret notare penitenciam iniunctam, et periret clavis sciencie. Et sophista confessus diceret: non teneor facere penitenciam mihi iniunctam, quia nulla est michi iniuncta: nec communis penitencia, iuxta quam foret alia exurgenda, quia in illa foret tanta¹⁰ perplexitas sicut in quacunque materia. Et ita videtur per sacramentum infundabile perplexitas insolubilis introducta.

4^o dubitatur si ex tali paternitate et filiacione sit spiritualis affinitas, et quomodo se habet ad alias. Ymmo videtur quod non solum est data sacerdoti licencia¹⁵ coniugandi sed ut modo stat irrationabiliter, gravatur occasio delinquendi. In isto et similibus relinquo antichristo solutionem et fundacionem dictorum, sciens quod inter sacerdotem et suum conversum est quedam spiritualis paternitas; ymmo inter Cristum et suos filios.²⁰ cum Matth. 12^o scribitur: *Quicumque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est, ipse meus frater, et soror.* Matth. XII, 50 *et mater est;* frater secundum spiritum, soror secundum carnem, et mater secundum naturam compositam. Deus autem reservat sibi [secundum] quandam preemi-²⁵ nenciam nomen patris.

5^o obicitur si eadem peccata in numero redeunt. Et videtur quod sic, quia prescitus dampnabitur pro quocumque peccato quod fecerit; cum ergo multa per penitenciam sunt deleta, sequitur conclusio. Si enim homo³⁰ dampnabitur pro illo peccato quod non est, tunc homo dampnabitur pro nichilo, et omne peccatum esset peccatum finalis inpenitencie; eo, quod nullum peccatum accelerari, breviori poterit vel tardari, et falsa esset prophetica Ezech. 3^o. Quantum ad istud dicitur quod³⁵ peccatum potest dici idem in numero quoad materiam Ezech. III, 18 et subiectum, vel quoad tempus, materiam et subiectum. Sic autem, stricte loquendo, non redit idem peccatum

4. cum *deest* A. 6. foret A. 8. 9. mihi — iniuncta *deest* C.
10. exemplanda AC. 14. illas alias C. 16. stat vel gravatur irrationabili-
liter B; stat irrationabiliter gravatur C; *ib.* gravaretur B. 22, 23. etc.
pro patris — mater est A. 23. 2^m A. 23, 24. 2^m A. 25. secundum
deest omnes MSS. 29. quidem A. 31. 32. illo — *pro deest* C.
35. 3^o *deest*; a gap C. 38. reddit C.

in numero, cum individuatur a tempore, vel quo ad terminos suos, vel quo ad successionem motus in quo consistit. Sed primo modo redit idem peccatum, ut loquitur scriptura. Peccatum eciam potest diu remanere
 5 vel in suo fructu ut pena, vel formaliter, et primo modo peccatum idem redit, et remanet perpetuo in dampnato, ut patet de peccato finalis inpenitencie. Multa autem locuta de peccatis dependent super logica et metaphisica; et nisi ut obturent Anticristos utile est tractare.

identical, and
 the sinner too,
 but the time
 and the acts are
 different.

3. primo modo reddit peccatum idem reddit C; *ib.* modo *twice* A.
 3—6. ut loquitur — redit et *deest* A. 8. logica *pro* locuta A; locuta
 (*sic*) C; *ib.* super *deest* A. 9. obtineret anticristus A.

CAPITULUM DUODECIMUM.

The present chapter deals with rural deans.

Deans in monasteries have more pride; but all are alike by their greed.

They make much money out of the sin of lust, and being themselves most prone to such sins, punish most severely; which is diabolical malice.

Their Superiors prefer to appoint such, because they know better how to wring money out of the people.

And they provoke to sin, in order to increase their riches.

Habito generali sermone de penitencia et confessione, A. restat cavendum ne isti quinque tortores fune excomunicacionem infideliter funesta trica diaboli. Et suppositis dictis de archidiacono et officiali, restat de decano 5 rurali, 6^o tortore, aliud perstringendum.

In decano autem monasteriali iacet maior sophisticacio et maior superbia. Comune autem est omnibus istis propter questum subrogari et in superiorum officiis sophisticare censuras. et false tractare subiectos omni 10 genere criminis anticristi. Specialiter autem spoliant pro peccato luxurie tam clerum quam laicos: et comuniter illi qui peccato illo sunt maxime irretiti, maxime iniuste puniunt pro eodem. Illa, inquam, est una condicio diaboli et filiorum qui ex ipso nascuntur, quod in illo 15 peccato quo est magis culpabilis magis punit; quia diaboli habent maiorem experienciam, ut illis peccatis temptent homines et convincant. Unde satrape, superiores decanis, non querunt illos qui magis mundi a crimine subditos magis purgarent, sed eos in quibus 20 vigeat plus experimentalis caliditas ad plurem pecuniam a populo rapiendam; quia illam querunt indubie, non purgacionem criminis subditorum. Et patet quod sunt tortores, servi mamone, non ministri Cristi, purgatores nequicie; quia hec querunt pro illo fine sollicite labo- 25 rando. Sed illud odiunt, nequiciam, de qua ditantur, multipliciter procurando. Ideo certum est quod sunt vasa diaboli, temptamenta populi et proximi, procura-

1. Cap. 12^m in marg. B; 12 in red ink. 3. tue A; fune C. 4. trica C.
6. sexto tortore deest A. 9. et deest AB. 10. sophisticari C.
16. est deest A. 17. habuit A. 28. temptamenta A; temptamentum C.

4. The first sentence is incomprehensible. In all the MSS. the word *infideliter* is much abbreviated and may stand for some verb; for which, it is hard to guess.

tores luciferi. In illis enim reconditur venenum, quo populus lubricitate inficitur, ut patet ex cartulis et studio eorum. Ipsi mandant, ut concionatores et monstrosi temptatores sexus feminei, ut patet ex levi amerciamiento
 5 subdolo et verbo bleso ad continuacionem facinoris alleccio.

Et pars luciferi per eos magis quam per incubos vel succubas roboratur. Sicut enim Cristus humanitatem induit ad querendum perditam ovem centesimam, ut patet Luc. 15^o, sic diabolus anticristus decanos tales
 10 induit ad perdendum ovem redemptam cum domino Luc. XV, desponsatam. Sic quod tollerabilius esset communicare
 4-6 6^b cum meretrice, cum excommunicato | vel ipso diabolo, quam cum tali decano infirmante yppocrisi suam dragmam cum 10^{am}, que aliter velut aurum vel carbunculus rutilaret. Est enim in subtiliori fortitudine sexus meretrice calidior; ex malediccione abscondita, sed innata, excommunicato nequior, et ex domesticitate nature cognite infugibilior. Non enim fugatur signacione crucis, sicut diabolus, licet data sibi cruce denarii ad tempus recedat
 20 et alias avidius retrocedat. Potestas autem huius belue stat potissime in citacione et excommunicacione; secundum quam primum insons laborator locatim distanter citabitur, quod tollerabilius foret sibi in principio rapinam reddere. Quantum ad excommunicacionem, sic terret simplices quod facit eos reputari infames, cuilibet cristiane comitive odibiles.

Est autem triplex cautela contra istud demonium. Primo, quod simplex servet se mundum a culpa imposita et pacienter premittat illud demonium blaterare.
 20 2^a est populi secularis, qui debet talibus raptoribus sacrilegis potenter resistere. Nam regna alia audent ex levi causa vel nulla invadere; sed terram propriam non audent contra hostes domesticos secundum leges paternas protegere, quia percussus luciferina recordia est
 35 pessimus sibi ipsi. Facile igitur foret fugare tales apostotas, indictando. 3^o vero cautela foret in proximo curato, ut vicario vel rectore, qui expurget impetitos sana exhortatione et fructifera confessione. Cum enim tota decani

They encourage women of bad lives, by inflicting but a slight fine and a mild reprimand on them.

They thus act in the cause of Satan like incarnate fiends, and should be more avoided than harlots, than the excommunicated and than the devil; more astute than the first, and more secretly wicked than the second, they will not, like the third, flee at the sight of the Cross. Their great weapons are citation and excommunication, by which simple folk are much frightened, thinking that it renders them infamous.

There are three ways of avoiding their clutches. 1. By leading a pure life; 2. By resisting them by every legal means; which can easily be done.

3. By the help of the nearest Curate whose duty

1. in quo B. 3. mediant BC. 4. m'camêto A. 5. gûacom A.
 15. ex BC. 17. nequior B. 20. avidius AB. 22. quam deest C.
 28. Prima C. 29. illud deest C. 30. que omnes MSS. 31. sacrilegiis A; ib. patenter corr. in marg. A; ib. Non A; ib. audet A. 36. inducendo A; inducendo C.

13. Dragmam for drachmam.

it is to see to
such matters
rather than a
stranger.

But they say
that even should
the guilty party
be absolved by
his Rector, the
Dean would still
have the right to
excommunicate
him, or his office
would be worth
nothing.

But we must
suppose that,
once absolved,
he is no longer
guilty before
God; every
further
punishment is
therefore
inflicted by the
devil on an
innocent man.

Another
tormentor might
inflict a third
penance; and
so on without
end, driving him
to despair.

Such a claim
blasphemously
implies that

God is
incompetent to
remit sin until
it is atoned by
simony.

vel superioris prelati visitario debet versari circa salutem anime ovis morbidæ, ac proximus curatus debet diligentius hoc facere quam remotus; ad eum pertinet, ammoto tortore extrinseco, ad curam illam attendere.

Sed hic vendicat pars anticristi, quod quocienscunque 5
vel quantumcumque parochianus purgatus fuerit a rectore, dum tamen decanus in libris suis reum reperiens non haberet predam suam, citat et excommunicat quantumcumque immunem; quia aliter, ut dicitur, superiorum prelatorum lucra et officia cassarentur. Contra istam blasphemiam versu- 10
ciam instatur tripliciter: primo per hoc, quod iuxta legem dei non licet punire insontem immunem a crimine, ut patet et sepe alibi. Sed talis, ut supponitur, purgatur a crimine: ergo non licet decano, sequestratori vel alii, sic mundificatum a deo taliter punire. Item, 15
deus non bis punit in id ipsum, cum perfecte et integre semel punivit confessum in curato, ut suppono. Ideo, si propter idem peccatum iterum puniatur, hoc erit per diabolum, deum malum. Aliter enim foret desperatio de peccato, cum satisfacto pro crimine posset 20
alius tortor succedere, vendicando quod non adhuc satis sit sibi; et post ipsum mortuum vel cedentem, alii. Et sic secundum traditiones novas diabolus progrediretur supra dominium sine fine. Item, cum secundus C.
tortor vendicat pedagium suum pro purgacione criminis 25
commissi, supponit ipsum adhuc plenarie non esse expurgatum. Sed dicit implicate quod deus in se derisus et insufficiens expectat quousque per symoniam suam reddiderit purgacionis ultimum complementum. Sed quis unquam audivit magis horrendam blasphemiam? Non 30
enim sunt deus, non recognoscens causam superiorem, dicentes: *Sic vollo, sic iubeo* etc? Sed preter scripturam falsam voluntarie rotulis suis rescriptam, oportet quod nichil alegent ex parte dei beneficencie, que in fine sonabit purgacionem a crimine. Sed cum illam perfec- 35
tam creditur a domino gratis datam, non oportet symoniace emere plus perfectam.

6. arcio A. 11. tripliciter *deest* A; *ib.* primo *deest* B. 13. *after*
patet *a gap omnes MSS.* 17. semel punit A; punit sed deus deus
semel B; *fiml* = simul C; *ib.* supponitur BC 18. a deo *in rasura pro*
Ideo C. 20. satisfaccio *omnes MSS.* 22. ex p9 A; ep 109 C.
27. divisus C. 30. inquam C. 32. *dices pro* dicentes C. 33. in-
scriptan C. 34. legent AC; *ib.* beneficenciam *omnes MSS.* 35, 36. per-
fectionem AB. 36. greditur A.

Cautela igitur curatorum sollicita est a talibus lupis rapacibus defendere oves suas; et si mille litteras excommunicatorias transmiserint, non magis excommunicationem sophisticam fulminari. Scimus quidem quod excommunicans quemquam iniuste, ut sic, semetipsum excommunicat. Scimus insuper quod pessima foret evidenciaria debere, nisi assit causa ex parte dei, cui littera talis est impertinens, reddens causam frivolum plus suspectam.

10 Ideo, collectis quotquot litteris huiusmodi, laboret curatus ad purgacionem suarum ovium et non prorumpat in tales excommunicationes stolidas propter nudas litteras anticristi. Et idem est iudicium de litteris episcopi et bullis papalibus, cum notum sit ipsos in anathema propter vindicacionem sue iniurie cucurrisse; et tunc secundum

15 Gregorium excommunicacio est in ipsos episcopos inferenda. Ideo idem esset onerare ecclesiam, credere quod si quemquam excommunicare precipiunt, tunc excommunicari debet aput deum et ecclesiam militantem, et onerare

20 ipsam ecclesiam quod sint impeccabiles sicut Cristus; et postposita ista blasfemia non forent tot excommunicationes frivole, ut iam currunt. Fidelis enim non crederet ewangelio, quod est superius bullis papalibus, nisi assit divina inspiracio ad hoc movens. Ideo, nisi

25 deus inspiret, videtur quod nemo excommunicare debeat. Nam sic et non aliter excommunicarunt Cristus et sui apostoli. Non igitur propter perfidiam fictam de constancia prela | torum debet fidelis se et plebem involvere,

63^a ubi ex sibi dubio male facit. Nam constat ex decreto Gregorii 23 q. III^a ca^o *Inter querelas*, excommunicans propter vindictam proprie iniurie se ipsum excommunicat eo facto; ergo multo magis excommunicans propter hoc

D. quod pecunias sibi indebite decimetur. Cum igitur notum sit decanos et plures prelatos excommunicare

35 precipue propter questum, stultus esset qui nude excommunicaret propter eorum litteras et mandata; deus enim mandat, verbo scripture cum noticia facti, quod

Parish priests should defend their sheep from these ravenous wolves, in spite of their excommunications, and however many such letters and notices he may receive,

he should, instead of publishing them, strive to bring his flock to a better life; the same must be said of bishops' letters and Papal bulls, when they are known to proceed only from revenge, their authors being thus excommunicated. It would be a heavy burden if we had to believe that God ratifies every excommunication. Even the Gospel should not be believed, if it were not inspired, and without a revelation no one ought to be excommunicated.

Therefore none should be published before his flock by a faithful priest, if he has doubts about their lawfulness. Hardened sinners, as we know by Scripture, are excommuni-

1. est *deest* A. 4. quod *deest* AB. 5. quem *omnes* MSS.
9. forvolum C. 11. non *deest* A. 13. est *deest* C; *ib.* de litteris *deest* B.
16. Greg^o C. 20. ipsa *in marg.* A. 21. ista *deest* C. 27. sic tam C.
33. sibi *deest* A; *ib.* detinetur C.

30. This canon is not in the Gregorian Decretals, but in those of Gratian. It is, however, ascribed to Gregory: "*Gregorius scribet ad Januarium episcopum dicens*". See Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars. C^a. XXIII. qu. 4. c. 27.

cated by the
very fact;
yet, contrary to
Scripture, we do
not shun their
society: why
then obey a
censure which
has only money
for its object?
A man should
no be punished
again for a sin
for which he has
already done
penance.

illos quos notorie videmus induratos malicia excommunicat
eo facto, et tamen non timemus communicare cum illis
consensu multiplici; et tamen fides scripture, que plus
est quam literę predicte hoc prohibet, ut patet Math. XVIII,
18 et 2^a Joh. Est infidelis ergo qui postponit propter
talem tyrannidem deum suum.

Sed rimando ulterius arguitur quod non licet dictis
prepositis sic singulariter propter amerciamementum luxurie
capere bona mechi; nam hoc non liceret, nisi sub ratione
pene illius peccati. Sed iuxta predicta non licet taliter
bis punire et specialiter capta salutari penitencia ex
limitacione proprii sacerdotis. Non enim licet iniungere
penam publicam, nisi liceret publice confiteri et spoliatori
publice absolvere a peccato, quia aliter liceret quotquot
raptoribus absolvere vel rapere successive.

Fines of this
sort, if paid
gratuitously, are
neither alms-
deeds nor
atonement for
sin; if paid for
the permission
to continue a
sinful life, they
are a horrible act
of blasphemy.

Item, nullum tale amerciamementum debet dari a subdito,
si non gratis; sed non debet sic gratis dare questum
tali preposito, quia nec titulo elemosine nec titulo redem-
pcionis culpe; cum sic liceret licenciare mechum continuare
pro pecunia symoniace in mechia. Quod licet dicatur sepe
fieri, tamen manifestum est quod est horrenda blasfemia,
quam tota ecclesia impugnaret; sed dei iniuriam ex defectu
dileccionis vindicare postponimus, nostram autem preten-
sam, quia nos magis diligimus, infideliter vindicamus. Et
ista est infidelitas per anticristum nimis abscondita. Ideo
preponderancia vindicte atestatur preponderacione iniurie.

They are
arbitrary, and
therefore
unlawful,
because
imposed
without any rule
but the dean's
will; so that he
might take all
the adulterer's
property, if he
chose.

Item, cum penitencia pecuniaria sit arbitraria, si
sit rationalis, est aliqua rationis regula, secundum quam
debit arbitrari; sed nulla est, sicut nec fundamentum:
ergo est irrationalis. Si enim voluntas decani sit regula,
tunc secundum variacionem talis voluntatis requiritur
quod ratio varietur. Ex quo sequitur quod eius voluntas
sit dei volicio, cum antecederet faciat rationem; et sic
mutata voluntate sua, ut habeat quotlibet bona mechi
(eciam ultra hoc quod possidet) sequitur quod voluntas
decani posset quotquot bona voluerit de populo exhaurire.
Sic enim dicitur Innocencium 3^m nongentas marcas, si non
fuisset fraus percepta, annuatim de Anglia exhausisse. Sed
irracionabilitas et variacio affectus decani ostendit blas-
femiam; moderat enim rapinam ad maximum; sic tamen
quod fraus et frustracio pecunie non fuerit deprehensa.

The only rule he
follows is to take
as much as he
can without
danger of being
exposed.

5. 2^a Joh. 5 C. est *deest* AC; *ib.* qui *deest* C. 21. est *before* quod
deest AB. 4. vincamus A. 20. preponderacionem C. 27. sic C.
32. cuius A. 33. talis A; *ib.* tunc *pro* et sic. 40. enim *pro* tamen AC.

E. Item, cum lex dei non auctorizat hoc factum, nec proficit, sed inficit humana tradicio, quo ad illud potissima ratio foret, quia pecunie subtraccio foret (lubricitatis occasionem subtrahens) medicina. Sed patet quod talis spoliatio sit occasio ad furtum, ad homicidium et ad alia multa mala. Ymmo, supposita veritate huius petiti, 3^a alia sunt vitanda. Primo, unde isti prelato auctoritas ad tales penitencias iniungendum? Videtur enim quod ad illum solum pertinet penitenciam talem iniungere, qui debet absolvere: quod blasphemum est a tali scopante. Iterum, supposito quod talis subtraccio fomenti luxurie sit plus salutifera, adhuc circumstantia bonificans est precipue attendenda. Sed quid facit ad meritum petulantis, quod ipse invito dat maiori mecho consimiliter? debet ergo gratis magis indigentibus ut posset sua pravitas extingui. Item notum est quod perpetua peccantium separatio, aliena occupatio, sive ieiunium et multe penitencie consimiles forent plus medicinales quam huiusmodi subdola rapax. Multa iniungat ergo deus contrito penitenciam voluntariam, quod debemus ex fide supponere, sicut invidencius supponimus quod confitens sit contritus. Et patet undique penitencia plus salutifera ac magis legitima. Vecors itaque ignorancia est, quod rapina talis permittitur; ymmo quod contra talem non currit breve regium, ut raptorem. Ymmo potius raperent pro gravioribus criminibus magis patentibus, in quibus fraus magis subdola sopiretur.

Supposito igitur quod ecclesia fidelium noscat infrenare tales anticristi prepositos, sic quod despiciendo eorum cautelas terrificas excludat eos simpliciter a rapinis huiusmodi; videndum est quomodo rectores et sui presbyteri se habebunt. Et videtur michi quod primo omnium debemus declinare a malo culpe, nedum in genere, sicut quilibet cristianus; sed specialiter peccatum tam omissionis quam comissionis circa curam nostrarum ovium precavere. Aliter enim sumus inhabiles ad subditos nostros secundum spirituale suffragium adiuvandum,

The only argument in favour of a system not authorized by God's law, is that pecuniary fines take away the occasion for lust; but they supply an occasion for other evils. What right has the dean, who does not absolve, to inflict such penalties? It were better for the sinner to give alms to the poor than fines to one worse than himself. And many other penances are better remedies for this sin than fines.

These men should be severely punished as robbers by the king.

The duty of spiritual pastors.
1. To avoid carefully every sin, and especially those against their flock.

1. 2. nec proficiat, sed inficiat B. 2. sed inficit deest A. 4. actionem A; ib. medi pro medicina C. 5. accio A. 11. Item C. 12. ad hanc pro adhuc B. 15. maumecho B; mecho C; ib. consimili det igitur C. 16. bonitas A; pronitas C; ib. Iterum C. 17. propterea AB. 19. foret C. 20. deus struck out B. 21. demus A; decanus in marg. B. 23. ac twice A. 25. non currit deest B. 29. igitur deest AB. 32. Nota hic de officio curatorum in marg. B.

If sometimes, for the greater good of the Church, we absent ourselves from our cure, we must yet make sure that it does not suffer from this; and we should give it up entirely rather than neglect it while receiving its income.

2. But if we leave our flock, it must be for some occupation at least as useful to the Church: which is certainly lawful, for we should love the whole Church more than its part.

Christ's parable of the lost sheep explained in this sense.

Christ left the 99, i. e. the angels, in Heaven, in order to seek the human race, as one lost sheep; but He notwithstanding that, cared for the Angels' happiness.

We cannot do as He did, but we must at least imitate Him.

nec rationem nostre stricte custodie deo damus. Licet autem, ad maiorem profectum matris ecclesie, oportet in casu oves privatas dimittere et ob amorem Cristi profectui ecclesie maiori intendere, tamen summopere cavendum est ne interim, propter absenciam pastoris 5 proprii vel eius vicarii, oves sue depereant; quia potius desereret earum custodiam et omnino lucrum de oblacionibus et de decimis, cum ipsum recipiendo curatoris titulo et deficiendo ab officio illo obligatorio fatue se dampnaret. Sed oportet 2^o omnino quod 10 63^b absens a cura sit in bona et sibi licita causa ecclesie eque salubriter vel salubrius occupatus. Ideo servientes in officio seculari negotiis, ociantes in scolis, et intencione illicita peregrinantes, vel visitantes romanum pontificem, peccant graviter. Quod autem sit licitum propter maius 15 meritum sic oves suas dimittere, patet ex hoc quod curatus plus obligatur toti matri ecclesie, quam istis privatis ovibus, cum non debet ipsas diligere, nisi in ordine ad matrem totalem quam debet finaliter plus amare: Cum igitur generaliter debet magis intendere 20 superioris servicio plus dilecti, sequitur quod debet in casu, dimisso privato officio, intendere servicio superioris ecclesie.

Hoc enim exemplificat Cristus qui, ut dicitur Luc. 15. Luc. parabolavit quomodo, relictis 99 ovibus in deserto, XV, quesivit ovem centesimam; nam plus amavit centum 4—8 oves qualibet parte sui. Sed ovem centesimam, cum sit Cristus, vel Cristus eius caput, licet secundum partem inferiorem huius corporis sit peccator, Cristus plus diligit cum beatis ceteris quam totam multitudinem 30 angelorum. Est enim melior tam natura quam gracia. Sed nota quod Cristus aliqua ratione reliquit 99 oves, hoc est omnes angelorum ordines, in deserto, quia factus homo ut ovis perdita ipsum reductorem cognoscat facilius, naturam angelicam non assumpsit, nec ipsum 35 celum, sed terram in qua ovis erraverat, primo incoluit; et hoc est illas oves dimittere, licet noscatur illas oves perpetuo deifice conservare. Celum autem est pascua semper virencia, a tumultu calcancium aliena, et post confirmacionem a lupis et canibus sunt secura. Licet 40

3. ab *pro* ob A. 7. costodium A; *ib.* omne A. 8. de *deest* C.
26. amant *omnes* MSS. 28. vel Cristus *deest* A. 30. beatis *deest* C.
37. nosatur C.

autem non sufficimus eque (ut iste summus per se bonus Pastor), oves dimittere tam secure; tamen debemus sibi facere placitum huic porporcionale, nec sufficimus ovem sic impositam collo nostro reducere ad ovile, sicut
 5 non possumus nos sub obtentu habitudinis humane taliter obligare, sed intelligendum est porporcionaliter modo parabole utrobique. Et patet quod quicumque cum istis paribus centum oves habuerit, una perdita, ut dicit ewangelium, ita facit.

10 Sed obicitur per hoc quod, iuxta dicta de residencia curati, satisfaccio et lex debiti tolleretur; quia, ut dicitur, licet rectori capere proventus huiusmodi parochie satisfaciendo cuicumque ecclesie, cum pro tempore non
 15 residencie non singularius prodest illi ecclesie, quam alteri cuicumque: ymmo, unus incognitus caritativior magis prodest. Quomodo igitur est correspondencia accepcionis istorum proventuum ad meritum tam comune? per idem enim quilibet plus promerens haberet ampliorem

Objection: If the curate is thus obliged to reside, he has no longer any right to his income; the Rector may give it to one more useful to the parish.

G. titulum vendicandi. Hic negatur prima consequencia,
 20 cum curatus providus, quantumcumque absens corpore est presens virtute, cum providet de apto vicario, qui si defuerit exigendo proventus talis ecclesie, lupaciter rapit ipsos; nec video quod rector in tali casu rationabiliter peteret pro tunc a tali ecclesia, nisi titulo
 25 elemosine, parca vite necessaria, que tunc non haberet apcius aliunde. Sic enim apostolus edificando avaros corinthios cepit sic vite necessaria ab alienis ecclesiis. Nec video quomodo curatus potest secundum legem dei, quantumcumque laboraverit, bona parochie ultra
 30 necessitatem iuste exigere. Illa enim est regula apostolica, ut patet 1^a Thym 6^o, quam non licet viris
 1. Tim. VI, 17 apostolicis supergredi. Item, quidquid debet rector percipere de sua parochia, in quantum talis, ipsum debet esse titulo elemosine; sed repugnat rationi
 35 elemosine ipsam per placitum vel excomunicacionem exigere. Et assumptum patet de Cristo et suis apostolis, qui exemplarunt nobis in suo facto sic facere: unde,

But the curate, absent in body, may be present in mind, and may appoint a good vicar, who however has no right to the income of the parish, nor the curate himself, beyond his personal needs.

All that the Rector has is alms, which cannot be confored. If a man witholds alms that are due, he should be left to God's excommunication.

5. nos *deest* A. 6. est *deest* A. 10. Solvitur A. 12. modi *deest* BC. 11. residence A; residen^o C. 15, 16. ymmo — igitur *deest* A. 16. carencia A. 18. et *pro* per A; *ib.* providens A. 19. vendendi A; *ib.* nature A. 21. potens A; *ib.* virtute *deest* A. 22. dei *dees* AB. 31. tess. 6^o *pro* ut — 6^o A; *ib.* quam homo non B. 32. apostolicis *deest* C; *ib.* quicumque B. 34. rationem C. 36. Et assumptum *deest* C. 37. extrasunt vel A; exemplarunt nobis in facto suo C.

Luce 9^o, quando Cristo iniuriatum fuit, prohibuit ex- Luc.
communicare explicite. Si enim quis iniuriatur michi, deitas XI, 55
excommunicat eum eo facto. Et cum ego debeo secun-
dum legem Cristi orando pro iniuriante iniuriam ipsam
dimittere, repugnat eidem legi quod propterea publice 5
maledicam. Et ista est ratio legis Gregorii *Inter querelas*,
23, 9, 4. Item, si proventus ecclesie liberari debent ut
debitum, oportet dare equivalens commutatum; nullum
pertinencius quam spirituale ministerium parochianis
impensum. Et sic rector comitteret symoniam. Et revera 10
illi qui magis contendunt in talibus, non sunt digni pro
toto ministerio recipere pecuniam; ymmo, ut ministratio
rectoris foret melior, sic in cambio foret proventus
carior. Unde quidam religiosi librant valorem sui habitus,
in quo extranei moriantur. Leges itaque docentes cu- 15
ratos pro decimis vel elemosinis dandis contendere vel
pugnare, sunt a religione legis Cristi extranee.

The Rector's
return for dues
is spiritual
ministry; but if
he exacts
money for this,
he commits
simony.

Christ warns us
against the
Scribes and
Pharisees;
because the
clergy which is
good, is the best
part of the
Church, is the
worst if bad, as
in the times of
Christ and
Antichrist;

Our scribes are
the secular, our
Pharisees, the
regular or
'religious'
clergy: we,
Christ's
disciples, must
be better than
either.
Their
righteousness
is both
insufficient and
superfluous.

Ideo videtur Cristum dicere, Matth. 5^o, ubi condidit Matth.
legem suam, quod *nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus* V, 20
quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum 20
celorum; hoc enim dixit in apostolis cuilibet cristiano.
Pro cuius intellectu suppono clerum, qui est 3^a pars
ecclesie, dum observat legem secundum suum ordinem,
esse partem optimam, et dum apostatat esse pessimam;
patet hoc rationibus et exemplis. Nam sicut clerus in 25
sacerdotibus legis veteris pro tempore mortis Cristi fuit
pessimus, sic videtur fore pessimus pro tempore anti-
cristi. Secundo, suppono clerum perversum in duo
dividi: scilicet, in seculares et tradicionibus humanis
apostate innitentes, ut erant scribe in lege veteri, et 30
iuriste in lege gracie, et in phariseos religiosos, ut patet
de 3^{bus} sectis tempore Cristi et de sectis innumerabilibus H.
tempore legis gracie. 3^o videtur Cristum | docere singulos 61^a
cristianos secte sue in iusticia excedere istam sectam.
Ipsa enim, iustificando tradiciones hominum, legis dei 35
iusticiam parvipendit. Unde Cristus non dignatur istam
falsam et nude verbalem iusticiam scribarum et phari-
seorum exprimere, sed satis innuit connexa dei iusticia
ipsam contempnere, cum sit insufficiens in regnum in-

2. deus C. 3. eo deo A. 6. legis *deest* A. 7. 8. ut debitum
deest C. 8. communicatum A. 17. sunt *deest* C. 26. legis A.
27. pro *deest* B. 29. et *deest* AC. 30. scribere A. 31. nil iste B; *ib.* etiam
pro et in A. 33. $\alpha\gamma\rho\epsilon\alpha$ legis (*sic*) A; 'gre' legis C. 39. sive pro cum B

6. Gregorii. See note above, p. 175.

ducere. Et sic dicta iusticia est insufficiens atque superflua. Insufficiens, quia contempnit radicem virtutis et vicii, ut patet in exemplis Cristi; et est superflua, quia modo phariseico nimis appreciatur ritus sensibiles.

5 Quo ad primum patet quod peccati occasio est tollenda, cum post ramos abscisos germinat ex radice. In
 Luc. cuius signum dicitur Lu. 3^o, quod securis ad radicem
 III, 9 arboris posita est. Cristus ergo, ut summus medicus, precipit spurcias anime expurgari, et sic secundum
 10 perfectam iusticiam, omissa observacione superflua, semper melius plus curare. Et ista superfluitas figuratur exemplo multiplici, ut in privatis ordinibus introductis in domibus et aliis superfluis et in humanis tradicionibus cum suis fructibus. Plus enim ponderantur scribarum
 15 excommunicacio, corporalis incarcerationio, et stultorum diffamacio, quam insensibilis vindicacio, que omnia ista nociva excedit. Abiciamus ergo superflua huius palliate iusticie, plus appreciantes operibus bonis de genere rectitudinem voluntatis, et plus timentes divinum iudicium,
 20 licet insensibile, quam censuras quaslibet satraparum; tunc enim divinam iusticiam adimplemus. Ipsa enim, cum sit omnis virtus, est unicuique reddere virtuose quod debeat esse suum; ut deo humile servitium et honorem, virtuoso caritativum adiutorium et favorem;
 25 sed vicioso, correpcionis debitum et timorem: quibus servatis, oportet iusticiam beatitudinem vendicare. Sicut enim bonus debet habere adiutorium ex vi comunionis sanctorum, sic malus debet habere correpcionem fraternam, et ultimo timorem ex elongacione ab illo tamquam
 30 diabolo, ut docetur Matth. 18. Et divisio istius partis iusticie nimis debilitat ordinem cristianum. Et patet quod iusticia phariseica nimis arta undiquaque deficit; cum debet inimicos diligere, et dileccioni dei ac cuiuslibet creature modum virtuosum superaddere, ac superfluitatem
 35 in qua superhabundant precipere.

Quod autem cristianus debet superhabundanter diligere inimicos, patet ratione multiplici. Primo, quia Cristus,
 Matth. V, 41 Matth. 5^o, sic precipit: eius autem preceptio est summa obligacio. Item, diligendo inimicos, acquiritur naturaliter

Insufficient: they only avoid the outward aspects of sin, and do not go to the root.

Superfluous: witness the houses of the different Orders and all their traditions.

Let us cast them away from us, and follow the path of justice, giving to each his own: to God, honour; to the good, our help, and to the bad, reproof.

This Pharisaical justice is found wanting in these things.

We must love our enemies, because Christ taught us so; because we thereby avoid

2. veritatis A; virtutis corr. ex veritatis C. 8. igitur C. 9. tunc pro et sic B. 15. benedictio A. 19. rectionem A. 22, 23. Nota quomodo redditur quod debeat esse suum A. 22. secundum philosophos est BC. 23. dictat A. 31. nimis deest B. 33. cuilibet B. 37. deus B. 39. Ita bonum facit diligere inimicum in marg. B.

the bitterness of anger against them; and because our enemies will then torment us less, commodum corporale, cum intrinsecus turbacio spiritus animalis evaditur et extrinsecus inimici insultantis inveteracio evitatur. Primum autem vehementer exprimitur corpus affligere, ut Prov. 17^o. *Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa*. Et quoad 2^{um} ex inveterata invidia videmus plurimos dampnificari et occidi cottidie. Racionabile itaque foret tollere causam tanti mali. Item, quoad bonum spirituale, patet quod reddit remittentem placatum deo. Et hinc Cristus et Stephanus orantes pro hostibus dicuntur propterea exauditi. 2^o reddit talem benivolum deiformem, cum remittendo et benefaciendo ponit vindictam in dei arbitrio, et interim benefacit, ut dei minister, diligendo naturam quam deus diligit. Et tercio, cooperante dei gracia, reddit inimicum firmum amicum, vel accumulando meritum magis inimice. Stultus igitur foret qui irrationabiliter appeteret viam diaboli, omisso tam facili et tam bono. Diligi autem debet natura inimici, eciam ipse diabolus, et odiri peccatum et secundum illam racionem ipsum suppositum; quia aliter indubie fovens creaturam ad hostem dei sit proditor dei: sicut preponderans vindicari humanam iniuriam, nedum iniuste solvit primum mandatum decalogi, sed creaturam cuius iusticiam preponderat constituit infideliter deum suum; et in ista blasfema perfidia currit totus mundus.

No one should accept a benefice, unless quite purified from all worldly intentions; He must first of all be a man capable of fulfilling his duties. Then he must not accept a curacy out of worldliness, or a wish to enrich his friends; but in order to suffer, labour and do good;

Nemo igitur acciperet ante huius artis noticiam curam spiritualis regiminis, nec ante purgacionem secularis propositi; sed omnino habeat divinum propositum pastoraliter prodessendi. Primum patet ex hoc quod proditor dei foret qui suas oves susciperet tamquam eius vicarius, supposita inercia huius officii: talis enim, presumendo scilicet, in facto diceret quod non curat illudendo prodere deum suum. Et quoad 2^m, patet quod oportet curatum purgari a 3^{ci} proposito venenoso. Primo, ne accipiatur cura regiminis propter vitam inclitam secularem. 2^o, ne accipiatur ut curatus adaugeat voluptatem, et 3^o, ne inordinate ditet suam cognacionem. Sed sanctum propositum debet esse ut in labore maiori et erumpna secundum pastorale officium plus proficiendo

Prov.
XVII,
22

25

1. comodum C. 4. 17^o deest, blank space B; 1A in marg. suppl. C; ib. Tristis animus C. 6. quottidie C. 6. orantibus A. 16. totaliter A. 18. odii A. 28. dictum AB. 29. possidendi C. 31. inh'cia A; inhercia illius C. 34. curari A; ib. triplici C. 35. regi C. 37. dicet A. 39. pastoraalem A.

ecclesie meritorius placeat deo suo; et si tale propositum disruptum fuerit, omnimode reviviscat.

K. Signum autem perversi curati est patulum, ut si sancte conversando subditos suos in opere non excedat; si mundo deditus, secularibus desideriis insolescat; et si ab ewangelisacione ad plebem obmuteat et exigendo proventus sue parochie secundum leges satraparum exasperat.

46^b Videtur enim omnes illas tradiciones | esse superfluas; quia, introducta lege elemosine, clerus non debet contendere, sed bonum pro malo reddere; non excommunicare, sed maledicentibus et persequentibus benedicere, ut docet Petrus, per quem cristiana religio sumpsit exordium,

1 Pet. sicut patet Pe. 3^o. Tunc enim omnes iste tradiciones III, 9 forent nedum superflue, sed diabolice, quia legis domini

15 extinctive. Et videtur quod securius foret curatum vel ewangelisando per patrias, ut fecerunt apostoli, sine privata cura, ubi magis expedit, circuire; vel posito quod ad hoc non sufficiat, secundum formam predictam in sua parrochia residere. Periculosum quidem videtur michi 20 modo vel curatum scolis intendere, vel arbitratis necessariis regni negociis laborare; sed dum ratio hoc exigit curam tam privatam prudenter dimittere.

Uterius videtur quod parochiani, cum non tenentur nisi titulo elemosine decimas curato suo solvere, videndo 25 publice quod a religione rectoris qui apostotat, tenentur elemosinas illas subtrahere. Nam ille elemosine secundum legem Cristi debentur pauperibus, cecis, claudis atque debilibus; sed non licet propter ordinacionem hominis, dando elemosinas istas apostatis, legi dei repugnari. Unde in lege 30 veteri, quando levitis dabantur decime, deus providit penitus suis egentibus, et populus fuit prohibitus mendicare, ut patet Deut. 15^o. Nudum itaque et exile foret

XV, 4 argumentum ex decimacione cerimoniali legis veteris curatum, quomodocunque vixerit, de illis quos tantum

35 dampnificat decimam vindicare. Verumtamen licet Cristus et apostoli non decimas legis veteris exegerunt, tamen videtur michi quod populus nunc et semper decimas debet persolvere; et cum suo curato debet de vite necessariis providere, ut patet Cor. 9, videtur rationi

1. Cor. IX, 4

and this resolution should again be taken, if broken.

A bad curate can be known by his love of things secular, his negligence of the Gospel, and his greediness for money.

There would be no such greed, if only the law of alms were in force.

It would be better if the curate went hither and thither, preaching the Gospel throughout the country, or labouring in his parish.

The parishioners, if they see that their curate is an apostate, are bound to give him no alms.

No argument in favour of tithes can give any claims to a pastor who does harm to his flock.

Yet, since the people ought to provide curates with what is necessary for life, the payment of

3. Nota hic signa perversi curati *in marg.* B; *ib.* prelati C. 4. false C; *ib.* excedat AB. 7. parrochie C. 9. ut quod clerus BC. 13. per 1^a pe. B; per *deest* C. 16. prias = patrias. 19. parrothia A. 21. ratio *deest* B. 23. tent^a A. 25. qui *deest* AB. 31. punicis A; punitis B; pñitis; *in marg.* penitus C. 33. ex decimacione *deest* A. 35. V'mfm A. 36. exigerunt C. 37. Nota de decimis *in marg.* B.

tithes is a duty, as almsgiving is; and the Friars and the needy live upon tithes.

consonum quod rectores de decimis sustententur, sicut sustentabantur Cristus et apostoli de decimis cum egenis ceteris, licet non contendebant de integritate et calculo partis quote Utilius enim fuit illis de una persona vel paucis titulo elemosine, expertis parcis decimis, quantum 5 est necessarium pro officio ewangelisandi, suscipere, quam quotquot decimas imperatas habere cum murmure vendicantis. Unde certum est quod fratres et egeni vivunt de decimis; sed populus ultra decimam ex cautela diaboli spoliatur.

If the Rector fails in his duty, he sins in exacting tithes, and his parishioners sin in giving them.

If he has a legal right to tithes, by what law are they due?

The only case of such exaction found to be in Scripture is that of the wicked sons of Heli.

Item, iuxta dicta hec supponenda, quicquid iniustus 1. occupat vel vendicat, facit iniuste peccando continue.

Rector igitur, dum deficit a curatoris officio, peccat graviter, occupando vel petendo decimas subditorum. Et, cum gratis solvens sic apostato cooperando consenciat, 15 videtur quod decimando sibi peccat graviter ex consensu. Forte dicitur quod non solum elemosinarie sed pure titulo iusticie dande sunt decime. Sed quo ad primam partem dicerem tali garulo: legem pone. Nec dubito quin nullam in fide scripture inveniet, nisi forte 20 illud Reg. 2^o, de pueris Ofny et Phynees. Porro filii

Heli, filii Belial, nescientes dominum neque officium sacer- 1. Reg. II,
dotum ad populum; sed quicumque immolasset victimam 14—26

veniebant pueri sacerdotis, dum coquerentur carnes; et habebant fuscinullam tridentem in manu sua, et mittebant 25 eam in lebetem, et omne quod levabat fuscinulla, tollebat sacerdos sibi. Et sequitur: "Non enim accipiam a te carnem coctam, sed crudam." Et sequitur: "Nunc

Passage quoted, and explained in the sense of compulsory tithes.

enim dabis, alioquin tollam vi." Carnes sunt decime curatorum, que secundum partem sunt carnes ad literam. 30 Carnes vero crudas exigere, est decimas ablacionum dominative requirere; devocio enim elemosine, ex operibus caritatis, ut igne supposito cacabo, debet esse coccio decimarum. Tridens autem fuscinulla est maledicta tradicio diabolica ex tradizione papali, ex tradizione 35 cesarea, et ex adinventione proprie consuetudinis super stipitem scripture legis veteris recurvata. Cum ista enim dicit tortor puer presbiteri: "*Da michi pure ex debito*

And now, as then, these crimes may bring calamities on God's people.

1. enim AB. 4. paratis A; parte B; *ib.* Ultio A; *ib.* illis deest A.
5. ecclesie A; *elene* C; *ib.* ep peiß C; *ib.* *elens pro* decimis C. 6. suscitare A.
11. hec deest B; hic C. 13. accusatoris omnes MSS. 15. apostolici A.
7. sed twice A. 21. Olin et fines A; Olyn et fines C. 22. n^o q3 A.
24. veniebat puer BC. 25. habebat BC; *ib.* fuscinuculum B; fuscinulam C;
ib. sua deest C. 6. libetem A; *ib.* fustinucula BC. 27. sibi deest B.
33. caccabo A; cacabo C. 34. fustinucula B; fuscinula C. 37. legis
ve ro²cuata A.

dominandi; *alioquin tollam vi.*" Sed timendum est ne ista exaccio sit presagium occisionis spiritualis populi, sicut fuit statim post illud puerorum facinus de Iudeis.

Stat igitur quod iustus rector simul recipiat decimas
5 titulo elemosine et titulo divine iusticie; et sic, si non elemosinarie non dande sunt decime. Item, videtur ex lege caritatis quod parochianus debet decimas talis rectoris subtrahere; quia, iuxta dicta omnis homo debet omnem hominem, eciam inimicum, in Cristo diligere;
10 sed ministrare sibi sic decimas foret ipsum criminaliter odire; ergo fidelis subditus hoc non debet. Constat quidem ex fide quam parochianus debet cognoscere, quod de quanto talis rector amplius sic ditatur dampnificat parochianum, et ipse in malicia amplius profundatur.
15 Sed indubie lex diaboli verecundaretur ista precipere; scilicet, quod homo debet ex bonis suis studiose dampnificare se ipsum et proximum. Talis enim amor seculi
65^a foret odium eciam diaboli; | nec dubium quin talis rector, ut amplius abutitur bonis ecclesie, plus profundatus in peccato obligaciorem se reddit de criminis
20 racione. Et hec creditur una causa quare deus quandoque misericorditer abbreviat vitam talis.

Quocumque igitur lex sub pena excomunicacionis illud precipit, notorie est iniqua. Et si debeat expectari post
25 probacionem pape iudicium, constat quod stat papam transfigurari interim in anticristum, nec est alicubi verior probacio quam ubi est facinoris ocularis ostensio; hec enim, et non in curia romana falsorum testimonium
M. deposicio, probat crimen. Et si dicatur quod tantum
30 viciu non debet supponi in capite; verum est quod non debet esse in capite; supponi tamen et credi debet tanquam contingens a fidelibus destruendum. Similiter, fidelis parochianus debet talem rectorem odire in quantum est proditor dei sui; non igitur fovere eum bonis
35 Cristi pauperum contra ipsum, quia sic diligeret cristianus diabolum plus quam deum. Sed ubi foret maior prodicio? Similiter parochianus tenetur odire talem rectorem, dei iniuriam vindicando. Sed tale odium foret levissimum et securissimum, non comunicando cum eo, ut dicunt

The Rector should accept tithes as alms, or as due to him by God's justice. If he does not it is a duty of charity to deprive him of them;

the more he has, the more harm he will do, and we can in no case be obliged to pay for injuring both ourselves and our neighbour.

Any law compelling to give tithes is unjust. We need not await the Pope's decision; our eyesight is worth more than the witness of the Curia.

Such wickedness should not be in the Head of the Church; if there, it should be destroyed. To nourish Christ's enemy with the substance of the poor is to love the devil more than God.

2. occasionis A; occisionis in marg. occisionis C. 6. mille pro non A; mille C. 7. legetur A. 15. precipue B. 17. Cristum A. 20. obligacionem B. 21. videtur B. 24. si deest C. 25. ppba^{us} A. 26. rñhguam A. 27. oculorum B. 31. est omnes deest MSS. 35. pauperem A; paupm C; te. parochianus A.

The best thing
is to have
nothing to do
with him; he
thus loses his
income.

No arguments
from tradition
can prevail
against Christ's
law.

Many evils
would arise
from a new
state of things,
as they always
do; here the
principal would
be the poverty
of the perverse,
the reduction in
the number of
the clergy
(which may be
left to God to
deal with) and
the bad
administration
of Church
property.
But Christ
never designed
curates to live
in such pomp
as they do now.

leges plurime. Et confirmacio est quod talis pro leviori peccato debet deponi. Ideo prius iustum est quod tales ab eo redditus sint subtracti. Hoc enim foret facilius quam decolacio vel deposicio. Et ista sententia foret *tirriaca* contra iniustas appropriaciones ecclesiarum, contra tiran-
5 nicas non residencias et culpas notorias personarum, et omnino contra blasfemas instituciones cardinalium et personarum alienigenarum, quorum absencia, cum sit per se sensibilis, debet a parrochiis optime iudicari.

Quantum ad instancias, patet quod tradicio anticristi
10 non debet precellere legem Cristi, nec ratio simealis a simili de humano debito et solucione decimarum in lege veteri militat contra Cristum; quia ipse vult contractum esse celestem, non civilem vel carnalem; sed secundum quod est pure aput deum debitum, statui innocencie
15 plus propinquum. Nec movet quod occasione istius possent multa mala contingere; quia sic contigit, occasione incarnationis Cristi et dacionis legis domini. Sed undique fuit occasio male accepta. Malum autem preponderans foret depauperacio discolorum, et defectiva administracio
20 bonorum prepositorum, et paucificacio clericorum. Sed quo ad primum et 3^m, donemus deo istam iniuriam. Sed pro medio notandum quod parvum est illud malum pene quo ad culparum notam, que ex ista culpabili tradicionem eveniunt. Cristus enim in se gessit typum
25 penalis indigencie sacerdotum, ut patet Matth. 25 et Luce 9^o. Sed nunquam figuravit istam secularem conversacionem et pompaticam curatorum; sed Luce 9. docet quod debet esse spiritus a deo spiratus, et correspon-
30 denter ad spiritum suarum ovium instruccius. Spiritus enim de corpore capit nudam sustentacionem sensuum; et licet sepe turbetur a corpore, perdat sensum et ab eo culpam contrahat; tamen ipsum corpus semper vivificat, dirigit atque sanat. Sic debent pastores ecclesie reddere bonum pro malo suis ovibus, instar Cristi. Unde
35 de nostris curatis nichil plus timeo, quam quod pre-textu cupiditatis mundane, dimisso regimine, spolient oves suas.

Matth.
XXV,
26
Luc.
IX, 58

1. quod *deest* A; *ib.* pleniori A. 2. tales *deest* BC. 4. tiriaca B; tyriaca C. 5, 6. t'raicas A; trutincae C. 6. r'fide^{as} A. 11. dei *pro* Cristi BC; *ib.* symealis C. 14. non *pro* vel B. 15. ipse *pro* est A. 22. dōem⁹ = docemus A. 28. popatica C. 29. debent A. 32. et *before* ab *deest* A. 33. tantum C; *ib.* super A. 36. pre *deest* B.

Quo ad sacerdotem parrochiale vel simplicem, qui debet esse rectori socius et adiutor, patet quod contigit eum multis modis deficere, ut ex illiteratura et ex defectu occupationis laudabilis, superbie, mundo et carni intendere. Ideo laudabile videtur quod tales dent se scripture studio vel informacioni iuvenum, ne extra tempus sacerdotalis ministerii diabolus ipsos inveniatur ociosos: debent autem cavere ab omni culpa, et specialiter a pravitate symoniaca, in ingressu quo ad ordinem vel conduccionem; in progressu, quo ad ministerii sui mercacionem, ut patet de denariis confessionis vel alterius sacramenti ministracionis; et caveant 3^o de vicio symoniaco ex consensu, ut capiendo questum pro occultando crimine, paciundo predacionem populi ut lucro participet de fratre ordinario vel questore. Rector enim et suus presbiter debent esse una persona in regendis ovibus et a lupis rapacibus defendendis. Ideo debent in regimine virtutum altrinsecus se curare. Quod si facimus diligenciam nostram, possemus faciliter oves nostras defendere a lupinis spoliacionibus, ut officialis, decani, fratris cuiuscunque, pseudoclerici, vel questoris. Malicia autem talis sacerdotis simplicis videtur minor, cum status suus et obligacio prodessendi ecclesie sit predictis inferior.

As for the inferior priest who must help the Rector, want of instruction and occupation often entangles him in pride, and in worldly and fleshly tendencies. Such should study Scripture or educate youth, and carefully avoid all simony in entering on their office, in discharging its duties, and in protecting their flocks from the rapacity of others. But simple priests seem to sin less grievously than the higher ranks of the clergy.

5. $\widehat{d_3}$ = debent C; *ib.* se *deest* A. 6. *ve* A. 12. *concesso* B.
13. *de pro* pro C. 17. *dicunt* A. 19. *defendere in marg.* C. 20. *officialis . . . fratres omnes MSS.*

CAPITULUM TREDECIMUM.

The ninth
tormentor is
the monk: i. e.
the member
of an order that
has possessions.
Such are in the
Church like a
hectic fever.

They claim
Church
property as a
heritage, and
more worldly
than laymen,
they
blasphemously
say that their
life is like
Christ's.

As a fact, a
population
equal to that
of England
could be
maintained on
their immense
revenues,
which if not sent
abroad to the
loss of the
kingdom, lie
useless in their
monasteries.

Merchants and
warriors
sometimes
cause great loss,
but sometimes
much gain to
the
commonwealth;

Sequitur nonus tortor, qui est monachus, canonicus, frater quomodolibet variatus, dum tamen possessionatus. Omnes, inquam, tales ad hoc propositum habeo pro eodem. Isti autem profundius perturbant rempublicam, sicut febris ethica plus consumit de humido radicali. Habent enim ex diuturniori possessione plus inviscata temporalibus aliquam rationem maioris malicie, quam mendici. Isti enim vendicant ut hereditatem bona ecclesie, et plus alienati a bono religionis, minori | prodessencia, 10 65^b et maiori perturbacione reipublice, plus blasfemant. Licet enim vivant secularibus plus seculariter, tamen blasfemant quod vivunt Cristo magis similiter; et sic quo ad deum et homines magis perturbant rempublicam.

Nam, ut loquar sensibilibus de redditibus et mortificatis 15 ecclesiis, posset conservari in Anglia tantus populus quantum est residuum secularium regni nostri; et iudicet expertus, quanta ingluvie tot temporalia abscondite sunt consumpta, et quomodo regnum nostrum ex defectu yconomie tam in hominibus quam terre fructibus sterile- 20 scit. Et ex superhabundante cautela diaboli, sicut pecunia proditoria clericorum symoniace missa ad externos prodigalibus, bona regni dirimit; sic thesaurus instagnatus in dictis cenobiis ad utilitatem reipublice non ebullit.

Prima pars patet in considerando reliquum thesaurum 25 regni, qui ad eius dampnum sepe consumitur. Nam mercatores et bellantes, quandoque thesaurum regni exhauriunt sine equivalencia, et sepe superhabundanter inferunt ad honorum regni notabile incrementum. Sed

1. Cap. deest, 13 in marg. B; Cap^m 13 in red ink C. 2. Initial S in red ink. 3. propositus A. 4. propositum h^o C. 8. modo pro aliquam B. 12. scilicet alius secularibus C. 15. redditibus A. 18, 19. tot — quomodo deest C. 23. diminuit BC; ib. sicut pro sic AB. 27. quando B.

regulariter peccunia pro beneficiis cleri transmissa ad curiam infructuose consumitur, nisi forte inducat symoniacum regnicolam venenantem. Nam ut sic plus tollerabiles sunt papa et cardinales qui thesaurum regni 5 cautelose exhauriunt, quia a distanciori et tardiori intoxicant. Et 2^a pars patet ex hoc quod defunctus in seculo reliquit sibi omnia bona fortune que remanent; et sic sepe prudenter in seculo disperguntur. Sed bona religiosi mortui sepe ad eorum putrefactionem et per 10 consequens ad regni dispendium absconduntur. Patet hoc ex vestimentis, libris, et aliis thesauris in corbano patris sui absconditis, que diabolus consumit putredine, redigens sine usu eorum vel fructu in loca subterranea, ubi residuum thesauri sui absconditur. Et sic ex cautela 15 sua consumuntur superflue maxime sumptuosa.

B. Sed tales thesaurarii discerent proverbium captum de herbis, arboribus et arbustis, que sicut capiunt a terra vigorem humoris quam sugunt solis adminiculo de eius visceribus in estate, sic reddunt folia cum aliis 20 mortificandis bruinali tempore, ut superficies terre pro futuro germine sui generis apcius sit fimata. Isti autem abeunt perverso ordine nature, ac si vellent creare novum mundum vel antiquum extinguere. Tales autem religiosi, bis mortui, cum morte naturali vitam istam 25 finierunt, non reddunt hec seculo, a quo omnia ista exhausserant, sed principi tenebrarum, cuius robore, non virtute solis iusticie, hec omnia sacrilege exsuxerunt. Et hec pars se extendit ad omnes claustrales vel alios conglobatos irregulariter titulo perpetuitatis, eciam ad 30 mendicos.

Istam autem venenosam virulenciam niterentur reges et omnes cristicole secundum posse suum extrudere; nedum quia inevitabiliter et innaturaliter pauperat et perturbat rempublicam, verum quia manifeste vergit 35 ad dei iniuriam. Quis igitur secularis expectaret licenciam sive decretum anticristi in talibus? quin potius pro causa dei tanquam aliter Moyses fureret, et saltem inanimata instrumenta diaboli conquassaret? Sic enim omnes lapides politi, omnes sculpture aurifabri, et omnes artis 40 humane fabrice pro suo tempore consumantur. Omnia

but monks are a continual loss; the money sent to Rome for the benifices of the clergy is less hurtful, for at least the Roman Pontiff is at a distance.

When a layman dies, his fortune is more or less spread about to good purpose; when a monk dies, all he has remains in the convent and become completely useless.

Let them consider that plants take juices from the earth in summer which they give back as dead leaves to manure it in autumn; but monks reverse the order of nature.

This is also true of mendicant Friars.

Such deadly infection should be put a stop to by kings and by all Christians, without waiting for leave from Rome.

3. venantem AC. 11. de libris B; *ib.* corbana C. 15. consumitur A; consumuntur C. 16. thesauri A. 19. aliis *deest* B. 20. mortificandum A; mortificandum B. 21. futuro tempore germine A. 31. *veofaz* A; *ib.* virulenciam C. 35. addicitur A. 39, 40. et — fabrice *in marg.* C.

Whatever is
against God's
will must
perish: witness
the lives lost in
the late revolt,
when the
clergy was
certainly
punished for
its own fault.

The people, it
is true, though
guided by an
instinct of
justice, did not
act quite
legally.

It is better that
princes should
take away
temporal
possessions
than that the
peasants
should kill an
Archbishop.

The peasants
saw what was
wrong, but
were cruel in
the punishment
they inflicted.

It would have
been easy to
arrest this
evil, if the clergy
had voluntarily
and most nobly
given up their
possessions to
pay the tax.

enim talia, que non sunt voluntas domini, miserabiliter terminantur. Sicut in parte patet nobis anglicis de isto lamentabili conflictu populi, in quo archiepiscopus prior et alii multi crudeliter sunt occisi. Nec dubium fideli, cum omnis pena sit ratione peccati, quod peccatum 5 populi est in causa. Et cum non sit pertinencius clerum predictum puniri 2^m aliquam 5^e causarum punicionis hominis quam propter peccatum sui vel sui generis puniendum, videtur quod predictum genus in penam sui peccati meruit sic puniri. Non enim sunt puniti, ut 10 Cristus, pro peccatis aliorum, non suis, nec nude ratione meriti et glorie argumentande. Ideo non superest, nisi ut clerus in penam peccati sui vel sui generis puniatur. Nec dubium quin tantum malum solum initium sit dolorum, cum clerus infinitum maius demeruit; nec 15 dubium quin punitores, licet maiores bonos instinctus habuerint, non plene fecerunt ad regulam. Dictum est enim quod domini temporales possunt auferre temporalia ab ecclesia delinquente: quod foret tollerabilius, quam quod rurales auferant vitam carnalem a capitali pre- 20 positio ecclesie delinquente. Dictum est, tam ex parte regis quam presbiteri, quod sacerdotes, et omnino curati, non debent familiari et seculari regis servicio mancipari. Vulgares in facto practisant quod curati debent propterea C. decolari. Dictum est quod abbates et religiosi possessionati 25 debent incarcerationa bona pauperum ad relevamen communitatis transfundere: Vulgares dicunt in opere quod prelati religiosi sunt occasiones retencionis huiusmodi avare: propterea occidendi sunt. Et hec videtur nimis crudelis punicio.

Nec dubium quin moderate et prudenter predonans 30 temporalia posset totum hoc malum faciliter extinxisse. Nam causa huius patencior dicitur exaccio peccunie 66^a ultra vires a populo; si igitur clerus possessionatus, thesaurarius bonorum pauperum, reddidisset regi ipsorum pedagium, quomodo staret ista dissensio, inferens tantum 35 malum? O quam gloriosa foret hec comutacio bonorum

4. fidei AB. 8. quapropter C. 10. puniti *deest* A. 17. gloriam AC.
18. temporales C. 21. ecclesie *deest* A. 24. Vulgares A (*et sic postea*) C.
27. quod *deest* A. 29. sunt *deest* AC. 31. Ipā poff3 A. 32. po-
tencior B. 34. regi *deest* A.

4. *Occisi*. This doubtless alludes to the revolt of the presents with Wat Tyler at their head. The prelate slain was Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Caunterbury.

comunium, qua, reservato clero usque sufficienciam ad alimentum et tegumentum, satisfaceret vulgo per bonum cleri residuum! Revera defendens contrarium indicat se discipulum Scarioth avaricia vendentis dominum. Illis enim est carior superfluitas temporalium quam tot 5 mortis et perturbaciones hominum; et tunc indubie, eciam de illo quod videntur habere, non possident quicquam iuste. Quomodo, queso, diceretur possessor vescibilium, qui quotquot vescibilium habens facultatem 10 liberam, ex parcitate avara fingit se mori famelicum? Ille autem est multo magis dampnabilis, qui procuratorio nomine occupat monetam ecclesie, ut faciat sibi et egenis amicos de mamona, et tamen propter accidiam facit se ipsum et alios tam corpore quam anima deperire. 15 Talis est indignus fungi sacerdocio vel officio procuratorio, cum nec sibi ipsi nec aliis sit amicus. Et necesse est quod talis prelatus suos ducat subditos in precipitium ruine.

And whoso thinks otherwise prefers these superfluous riches to the lives of men. They are not even real possessors, for like misers they put their money to no use.

Such prelates lead their subjects to ruin.

Nec fingat yppocrita quod reddicio patrimonii cruci- 20 fixi pro populo nimis sero succederet; nec licet cum illo patrimonio pascere principes seculares; quia quo ad primum certum est quod ex cecitate prelati nimis sero successerat. Debet enim prelatus secundum Ezechielis vaticinium esse speculator subditis, et de eis necessariis 25 pro cavendo periculo circumspectus; et quo ad secundum iudicet ecclesia, si conglobantur temporalia ista mendaciter pro tante pascendis anticristi discipulis vel in D. tempore oportuno pro protegendis pauperibus, eciam supposito quod super eos principes tyrranisent. Item, 30 notum videtur quod origo huius discordie sit debellacio exterorum; sed focus et concilium huius debellacionis sunt clerici et prelati: ergo tocius malicie consequentis. Si enim non sic debellarent exteros, non sic spoliaretur regnum nostrum peccunia et personis, a quibus deficiens 35 oportet suos intrinsecos spoliare; quia, dum thesaurus bellanti deficiat, necesse est quod spoliaretur de egenis. Non enim asuescit in bello sic moribus vel laboricio, ut veniens in regnum proprium contineat se ab iniuriis eciam proximi, cum mala consuetudo suscitatur sibi prolem.

Let them not say "it is too late to restore this property to the people, and we must not give it to princes". The Church should be judge of the employment of this property.

The clergy who stirred up the war are responsible for the exactions which led to the late revolt. Moreover the soldiers are trained in habits of marauding.

1. ultra AC; *ib.* ad *deest* A. 9. vestiu C. 8. sinit BC. 17. subiectos *after* talis B; *ib.* suos *twice* C; *ib.* ducat *deest* AC; *ib.* discordie et BC. 22. certum *twice* A; *ib.* quod *deest* B. 26. iudicem C. 32. ergo *deest* A. 35. thesauris B. 36. bellandi A.

Non enim tantum meruerunt predones in peregrinacione huiusmodi, ut forent amplius in moribus confirmati; cum Yes. 33^o dicit spiritus: *Ve, qui predaris, nonne et ipse predaberis?* Isa. XXXIII

Ideo medicina foret cum temporalibus saciare predantes; curiositate yconomie, et exhortacione salubri ad fideliter vivendum de propriis. Nunc autem dicitur quod clerus perquirat redditus de talibus, et hoc pro indigencia viliori foro quo sciverit. Et quo ad exhortacionem ewangelicam vel corporum relevamen, patet 10
 quod clerus nedum ut plurimum obmutescit; sed viis et modis bellatores ad malum exasperat; et cum prelati debent rogare, consulere, et hortari *que ad pacem sunt ierusalem*, dicitur quod tamquam auctores bellorum hortantur ad pugnam, cum per ipsos tamquam capitales concilii parliamentum regitur eciam in minoribus negociis, dum ipsa cordi habuerint, ut vendicant, tanquam pars spiritalis principalior concilii regni nostri. Et ita videtur quod cupiunt quod principales domini, per quos voluntas eorum restringitur, sive bene sive male, deprimentur: 20
 cum assistencia eorum sit attomus per quem sua effrenis voluntas quodammodo inpeditur; sed de futuris periculis et dampno reipublice non curatur. Ideo necesse est hos prelatos luere hic et alibi vel ubicumque.

Item quo ad fratres, videtur quod non sunt expertes 25
 huius facinoris, cum clamare debent publice predicando, private hortando habendum pacem et concordiam, si fieri potest, cum omni homine: sed vel obmutescunt, vel clamant contrarium. Ideo sunt rei huius criminis concilio vel consensu. Cum enim fratres sunt generaliter confessores 30
 et conciliarii dominorum, quomodo aufugeret eos factum dominorum publicum, concernens forum consciencie et utilitatem reipublice? Si sunt disciplinabiles, debent sane consulere. Si autem sunt indisciplinares, debent secundum formam ewangelii ipsos relinquere. Sed lau- 35
 ticia extra claustrum, inordinata affectio ad defendendum ordinem suum privatum, et questus symoniacus temporalium non permittunt: in tantum quod fructus confessionis confunditur, dum ipsa sit venalis hereditaria

3. nomine A; non B. 7. a pro ad A. 10. reilevamen A.

11. volu^B A; voluptas B. 20. depriment B. 21. quo pro per quem B.
 2. voluptas B. 24. luere deest AC. 25. ideo B. 27. ordando A.
 30. regulariter BC. 36. castrorum A; castrum C.

et permixta. Venalis: si procuratur assidue ut predicator
frater sit custos anime maioris domini vel domine. in-
dubie symoniace propter lucrum, cum sanctor, edifica-
cior et tractabilior sit comuniter anima vulgaris simplicis,
5 quam potentis. Quis enim, vel pauperes vel divites, plus
E. profuerunt ecclesie? Ideo causa est patule symoniaca,
non divina, cum preponderanter fratres procurant custo-
dire animas mundi potencium; quia intendendo obtu-
65 rare eorum maliciam, labor fratrum appareret sensibilibiter
in effectu. Sed modo videtur contrarium.

much more good among the people; for if the nobility had profited by their presence, it would have been more manifestly fruitful.

Ymmo, cum periculum huius custodie sit tam arduum,
tum propter salutem reipublice, tum eciam propter
salvationem perpetuam tam corporis quam anime con-
fessi, quod excedit curam ordinariam prelatorum. Sed
15 diabolus introducit hanc subdolan confessionem in fra-
tribus, ut eorum introductio extraordinaria inducat
media per que decipitur Cristi sponsa. Unde suboritur
cautela diaboli, qua fratres vendicant; hii, quod sint
confessores regum, hii reginarum, hii ducum, hii co-
20 mitum; et, ut eorum ars confessionalis fiat accepcior,
accumulant multiplex alienum officium: ut artem sanandi,
domum prudenter regendi, et quecunque negocia extrin-
seca maiora vel minora prudencius et facilius promo-
vendi. Sed fructus negotii et peioracio secularis dominii
25 preconisant cautelas diaboli. Necesse quidem est ut
subintroducta novitate et multiplicitate sectarum et
rituum supra ordinationem Cristi, ecclesia multipliciter
perturbetur.

The responsibility is so great here, that very few are equal to the task; yet they intrigue in every way to get good places, and try to ingratiate themselves by practising the medical art, &c. But these are clever tricks of the devil, as the results show.

Cuius perturbacionis fratres probabiliter sunt in causa:
30 quia spiritualis infirmitas in animabus mundi potencium
Iac II, perturbacionem talem parturit, ut patet Jac. . . . Et
1—9 ratio experimentalis convincit, cum diserasiato principio
policie necesse est totam rempublicam perturbari. Cum
igitur fratres, qui ad custodiam anime et morum magno-
35 rum se obligant, sunt causa privativa casus sui, sicut
naute ausencia est causa periclitacionis navis, manifestum
est iuxta hoc principium: *Quicquid est causa cause, est*
causa causati, quod fratres sunt indirecte causa tocus
perturbacionis in ecclesia. Unde, quando lucrum sonatur,

As the absence of the mariner puts the ship in danger, and the cause of the cause is the cause of what is caused, the Friars, by their neglect of souls, are indirectly the cause of the present troubles in the Church. When gain is to be had they would rule the Church; but when it

1. predicator A: ut predicator sit frater sit custos C. 8. potencium C.
11. ordinari Iud A. 15. in deest A. 17. subdolicus A. 21. accumulati A.
14. talem pro perturbacionem A: 16. talem deest C: 16. after Jac. Blank
space omnes MSS. 33. necesse deest A. 34. fratres deest A.
35. privata omnes MSS. 36. ecclesia BC.

comes to
appeasing
dissensions,
they are
mute. Yet when
they take in
charge the
souls of the
great, they have
much stricter
duties to fulfil
towards the
Church.

If an earthly
treasure cannot
be squandered
with impunity,
should a
treasure much
more precious
be squandered?

An Archbishop
cannot be a
Chancellor; it
is the most
secular office
in the kingdom.
How could he
convoke the
clergy, taken in
the same snare
of worldliness
as himself, and
excommunic-
ated?
unless as an
arch-devil,
calling to his
little ones.

Such a prelate
is a traitor to
the king and the
kingdom; being
a traitor to
God, whatever
he does is
wrong. And
this malice, long
accumulated,
will at length
ruin the State.

fingunt se spiritualiter regere totam ecclesiam, prelatos, populum, et magnates; sed quando ratiocinium acutum daretur populo de fructuosa diligencia placandi ecclesiam, obmutescunt. Et tamen certum est quod in quantum accipiunt spirituales custodiam dominorum, stricte obligant se persone ecclesie, que debet ut dignior curare precipue de virtute regitiva dominorum secularium et in subvertentes eos securius vindicari. Si enim thesaurus temporalis prodigaliter consumatur, penalis compotus a persona populi acute requiritur; multo magis strictius obligatus ex consumpcione thesauri infinitum plus preciosi et necessarij, quantumlibet gravius puniatur? Sed princeps huius seculi pulvere temporalium infideliter execat mundo deditum; nec dubium quin omnia genera religiosorum et curatorum secularium participant hoc reatu. 15

Quid, rogo, pertinet ad archiepiscopum occupare cancellariam regis, que est secularissimum regni officium? Numquid superest in tam lata provincia episcopo occupacio spiritualis? Numquid presul debet convocare clerum anathematicum, quia contra legem dei et hominum et secularissimis regis officiis implicatum, sed sub gravi dei malediccione ad contrarium obligatum? Non videtur aliud, nisi quod archidiabolus congregat minores diabolos, pullos suos, non solum ad ludendum paginam ludicram patris sui, sed tamquam tortorum demoniacorum caterva, spoliando alios simplices (secundum artem magistri sui) bonis gracie et fortune; et quod detestabilius est, in derisionem despectivam pro confirmatione istorum crux Cristi blasfeme erigitur. Numquid 30 credimus prelatum talem, deo et sue ecclesie proditorem, esse regi et regno fidelem prepositum vel ministrum? Constat contrarium, cum ex fide capitur quod quicunque est infidelis vel proditor Cristi aut sue ecclesie, est infidelis et proditor cuicumque; quia debet fideliter servire deo cum sua ecclesia. Sed, deessente servicio 35 dei, licet faciat bonum de genere, totum residuum est infectum. Nec dubium quin, si clerus Anglie persolveret deo et ecclesie id quod debet, non foret ecclesia nostra

3. pacandi C. 4. cum C. 8. iudicari A. 10. acute A; acqute, in marg. acute C; ib. tractus pro striccius AC. 20. anathem^u C. 21. regis twice A; negociis BC. 23. archidiaconus AC. 24. diabolicos B. 31. vel pro cum A; quod fide C.

16. Simon of Sudbury was, or had lately been Chancellor.

intricata cautelis diaboli, sicut hodie venenatur. Sed necesse est ut antiqua malicia diu colecta inundet subito, faciendo regnum corrumpere; quia sic ex congregatione aquarum lacuna dirumpitur, ex accumulacione ponderum supportans dissolvitur, et ex corrosione vermium lignum atteritur.

Et ita, si queratur cur non antea, respondet scriptura *Gen. Genesis: Nondum impleta est iniquitas Amoreorum.* Si XV, 16 enim regnum perficeret septem opera misericordie duplicata, olim fuisset in via confirmacionis secundum legem dei emendatum. Ut, si primo declinaverit a malo fontis pestiferi, excludendo de regno colectores peccunie, non virtutum, provisores alienigenas a cura regendi oves secundum Cristum, sed pure obediat eis (rebellando 15 peccatis eorum), de quanto docent naturalitate implicita legem Cristi; nec regnum nostrum debet aliquam hostem pestiferum post diabolum plus horrere. Postquam autem declinaverit ab hoc malo 3^{ci}, debet regnum nostrum, et specialiter clerus suus actus spiritualis misericordie 67^a 20 seminare; primo, docendo | non legem Machometi, sed dei, quomodo servi, filii, et specialiter clerici, debent subici dominis, parentibus et omni homini, paciendoiniurias et reddendo deo gracias; domini autem, parentes et prepositi debent, ut servi dei, tractare subditos cum 25 amore; quia ambo debent servire deo et sibi ipsis proficere secundum regulam caritatis, ut docet apostolus ad Eph. 6^o. Secundo debent consulere, non ad terrenum dominium conquirendum, non ad copiam temporalium possidendum, nec ad vivendum secundum carnis petulantiam, ut vivunt qui renunt cenam Cristi, sed ut sint humiles, vocati et electi pro merito ad gustandum cum domino cenam magnam, de qua Luc. 14. Tercio debent 30 secundum scolam predictam, sive hortando sive puniendo, subditos castigare. Quarto debent consolari secundum spem retribucionis perpetue mestos animo et confractos. Quinto debent iniuriantibus suis prudenter remittere. Sexto debent inproperantes secundum virtutem paciencie supportare. Et septima debent pro tota ecclesia, eciam pro hostibus, obsecrare. Quibus si adiuncta fuerint septem alia opera 40 misericordie, et in tempore oportuno pasta ecclesia,

This ruin may not take place, if the realm 1. departs from evil: i. e. turns, out the money collectors, excludes foreigners from the government of Churches, or obeys them only in so far as Christ's law allows; and if 2. it practises the seven works of spiritual mercy, teaching all Christians their duties towards one another,

giving good counsel, tending to make men live a Christian life,

reproving and punishing those set under them, comforting the afflicted, forgiving injuries, bearing insults patiently, and praying for their enemies; also practising the corporal works of mercy.

2. aliqua A. 8. amoreorum C. 10. aliter AB. 15. eorum
deest A. 16. ut C. 19. actus suos; suos deest A. 22. pntib) = pres-
sentibus A. 27. ad Eph. 6^o deest BC. 28. non deest C. 33. oratio C.

By this means the Church would have the spiritual food that it so much needs.

It is the want of this food that causes such desolation in the country; contraries cause contraries; and greed destroys charity, breaks up the bond of union between Christians; thence ensues pitiless cruelty, and houses, sects and provinces fall upon each other.

refecta foret et non famelica; sic quod pro defectu spiritualis cibarii sese altrinsecus innaturaliter manducarent.

Defectus igitur huius cibi, et specialiter in clero, est causa quare regnum nostrum a deo desolatur. Nam cum contrariorum contrarie sunt cause, et cristicole debent esse *miseriordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur*, ut dicitur Matth. 5^o; oportet contrario sensu quod Matth. V, 7 crudeles et specialiter famelici desolentur. Nam invidia proprietatis terrenorum cupiditas extinguit et discontinuat caritatem; et per consequens, iuxta vocem Cristi, faciendo *Regnum in se divisum* parturit desolacionem. Nam fortitudo regni atque constancia insurgit ex parcium unitate cordi coherencia, et omnino ex eorum discontinuacione venit contrarium, et per consequens domus unius magnatis, unius secte et unius provincie cadet supra domum aliam, deficiente caritatis glutino supportante; et sic, ex consumpcione reciproca parcium regni, in pulverem ipsum regnum necessario desolabitur.

The punishment lately inflicted on the clergy by the people, though deserved, was excessive: 1. in degree; they having no revelation from God to act thus. What belongs to the State can be taken by the State; but life is a gift of God.

To say: "We should not take away temporalities, but remove by death those who abuse them" is an ill-considered position. To take a man's life is indeed to take away his temporalities; but our faith teaches that he should live on alms.

Et licet clerici mereantur puniri tali decapicione, et acrius, tamen videtur michi quod populus in hoc excedit quantitate, qualitate et modo. Quantitate, quia blasphemum esset populum assumere super se tantam vindictam, nisi habuerit a deo revelacionem ad taliter puniendum. Illud igitur accidentale quod regnum sibi tribuit, cum deturpat episcopum et impedit episcopale officium, meritorium foret regno, servato bono nature, subtrahere; tum, quia illud bonum nature est singulariter donum dei, tum etiam, quia ignoratur si utilius esset ecclesie et persone decapitate mori aliter, [ut] debuit post vel ante. Unde in isto contendunt quidam inaniter, dicentes quod ecclesia non debet auferre temporalia a clero delinquente, sed ipsum clericum a temporalibus, datis aliis qui recte peragant cleri officium. Primo, quia sequitur: *Ecclesia auferret clerum a temporalibus*; igitur *auferret ipsa temporalia ab illo clero*. Et cum quolibet persona sit omnibus temporalibus mundi natura dignior, et modus loquendi sit scripture sacre accepcior, patet quod sic blaterantes ad nimis pauca respiciunt. Item, intencio fidei est quod clerus privetur

8. a contrario B. 12. in se deest C. 28. tamen omnes MSS. 30. esset deest AC; ib. capitante C; ut deest omnes MSS. 40. irasci in marg. A.

a possessione hereditaria mundana vivendo de elemosinis, ut Cristus instituit; sed illud exprimit prior logica; 2^a vel paliat vel confundit. Ideo prior implenda est et 2^a tanquam sophistica respuenda. Nam occidens episcopum aufert eum a temporalibus; sed ewangelium dicit Math. servos dei *aufferere* *muniam* ab indebite occupante, sed non XXV, dicit occupantem auferendum a possessione que sibi 28 accidit. Ideo bene stetit ecclesie, antequam introducti sunt fratres, qui contra caput proprium sic locuntur. 10 Debit igitur regnum auferre temporalia ab episcopo, cum ex illa habicione venit tota prodicio.

In the Gospel the slothful servant only loses the talent.

2^o deficit populus in qualitate, sic occidendo episcopum; quia examinaret causam mortis. et responsum accusati, si fuerit rationi consonum. Sed istam rabiem 15 prophetavit quidam frater Londoniis ignarus vocis proprie, cum asseruit publice hominem sine responso conburendum tanquam hereticum; et tamen nec audivit eum nec scivit suam sententiam, aut cum qua protestacione vel quo animo sit locutus. Ideo taliter diffinire hominem 20 esse hereticum taliter puniendum excedit luciferinam insaniam, cum iuxta anticristinam stulticiam, extollitur super deum. Deus enim non potest dampnare hominem, nisi precognoverit causam rationabilem quare taliter sit dampnandus. Sed iste apostota dicit sibi licere hec 25 facere. Unde preceo pessimus dirum exitum prophetisat, quia regni turbacionem: utinam non destruccionem! Nicodemus autem ut fertur, religiosius isto demonio Joan. meridiano locutus est, Joh. 7^o. "*Numquid*, inquit, *lex* VII, 51 *nostra iudicat etc.*"

2. In kind. There was no form of justice, no examination of the accused; just as a certain Friar in London said should be done to a man that he judged to be a heretic. God Himself never condemns without just reason; so this apostate sets himself above God!

Nicodemus was better inspired.

30 3^o deficit populus in modo agendi multiplici. Primo, quia proditores forinsecos, licet spirituales, plus subdolos debuit plus punire. 2^o, quia nullo modo debuit contra seculares dominos taliter attemptare. Et 3^o, quia expectari debet tocius regni exhortacio sive consilium. 35 Sed supposito errore, videndum est quomodo secundum legem debeat emendari; et videtur michi quod 67^b error | de quo comunitas gravatur et debet conqueri, primo omnium debet rectificari, cum vetat iustificaciones que postea sequerentur. Est enim error intollerabilis 40 quod rex vel alius dominus regni super eius populum

3. In manner. Punishment should be meted out according to the fault; temporal lords must in no case be attacked; and the advice of the whole kingdom ought to be taken. Though wrong, they had grievances that should be redressed, so as to put an end to such acts.

1. mundana in marg. A. 2. prior *deest* A. 4. 5. episcopum in marg. A. 6. nam *pro* *muniam* B. 7. occupante *pro* occupantem CA. 20. luciferinam, 21. anticristinam *deest* C. 27. autem *deest* C. 29. iudicat etc. *des* A.

All tyranny and needless exactions on the part of temporal lords should cease; **tirraniset.** Sicud enim miles debet esse contentus stipendiis suis, ut patet Lu. 3^o, sic reges et subdomini debent tenere se in limitibus suorum reddituum, ne propter causam irrationabilem imponant tenentibus suis tallagia, cum in extorsione tali iacet iniuria clamorosa, ut patet 5 Exod 3^o et Jac. 2^o. Idem enim foret seculares dominos se ipsos destruere et subditos suos taliter spoliare, ut patet de Roboam 3ⁱ Reg. 12. Sed secundus error insensibilis vulgo est quo bona regni sunt ad curiam Romanam, et in inimicos externos devoluta. Sed 3^{us} error 10 I. quantitate maior est, quo populus per clerum intrinsecum omnis generis spoliatur. Quomodo, inquam, foret rex vel dominus, qui subditos suos non potenter defenderet a raptoribus istis sacrilegis, vel quo iure caperet redditus et tallagia subditorum, qui renuit ipsos defendere ab hostibus inermibus, ita domesticis, a quibus posset tam faciliter ipsos defendere, et ex spoliis, parcendo populo, regnum regere? Omnes autem tradiciones a pseudoclericis adinventas debet destruere, et quietari in sola lege dei cum iure regni, ne admittat superflua, 20 regnum et specialiter legem dei turbancia. Et sic staret regnum purgatum a spiritualibus erroribus, regulatum pure vel principaliter lege dei. Quo habito, oportet omnino diligenter cavere, ne sit dissensio inter dominos seculares, temporales et comunes de populo; et magis 25 inter dominos ad se ipsos; sed maxime, quod non sit turbativa contrarietas inter dominos et vulgares regni nostri, disparium causa contrariorum; quia tunc ad destruccionem regni foret demonium meridianum suscitatum. 30

This would give us a kingdom in which every thing should be regulated by God's law. Dissensions amongst the nobles, and still more between the nobles and the people, ought to be carefully avoided.

Three Objections.
1. This theory would diminish the royal prerogative. But this prerogative itself depends on the law of God; flattering traditions destroy it. Patience under wrong will

Sed obicitur quod dicta ymaginacio non consonat regalie, nec iuri purganti delicta comissa, nec incucienti timorem, ne alias sic delinquat. Sed quantum ad primum, dicitur quod necesse est regaliam regis et omnes leges humanas regi per legem dei, licet sit suppeditata hodie; vel aliter sunt prophane. Ideo lex dei regaliam regis conservat precipue; et alie tradiciones consumunt adulatorie iura regis. Ideo, sicut regalia Cristi per pacienciam maioris iniurie crevit ad summum, sic, stante

4. collegia A. 5. in *deest* B. 9. *wlgo* AC; *ib.* regi A. 10. istos *pro* inimicos A; *ib.* Et *pro* sed BC. 15. collegia A. 26. duces *pro* dominos B. 27. *wlgares* AC. 28. *causatorum* A; *contrariatarum* C. 29. regni *deest* A. 31. *obieccio in marg.* B; non *deest* A. 32. viri B; iuri, *in marg.* iuri C. 33. *delinquant* C. 35. sit *deest* C

fide scripture, regalie alie temporales per pacienciam talis iniurie suscipient incrementum: et procurans oppositum cece supprimit regnum nostrum.

increase this prerogative, as it did for Christ.

- Quo ad 2^m obiectum, patet quod luciferinus est, qui
 5 propter maius commodum non defert deo tantas iniurias vindicare. Ymmo, deus preordinavit, si dignamur capere quomodo regnum foret purgatum secundum legem dei, rectificatum eciam suo beneplacito conformiter, regulatum per ius Christi, evacuatis privilegiis cesareis intro-
 10 ductis finaliter. Igitur debet regnum satisfacere dominis secularibus iniuriatis de bonis Christi ditissimi atque suorum pauperum, cum de illis sit rationabilius impleri iusticiam propter multa. Primo, quia deus est in illis sufficiencior ad pacem populi redimendam; 2^o, quia
 15 illa sunt bona magis superflua, cum quibus ecclesie symoniace et sacrilege pregravantur. Et 3^o, quia pseudo-clerici, ut patet ex dictis, sunt radix tocius turbacionis et comisse iniurie. Gloriosa, inquam, foret talis mutacio, qua parceretur multitudini, et sopita ceca tradicione
 20 principum, Christi primeva ordinacio eluceret. Unde in minori cause preconio comendat Augustinus factum beati Aurelii, qui in minori necessitate reddidit collata sue ecclesie brachio seculari. Sic enim secundum Augustinum
 K. "debuit iure poli". Et recitatur 17, q. 4^a. *Quicumque*.
 25 Sic igitur felix foret qui pacificaret regnum adeo turbatum tam monstruosa possessione temporalium servata ad hoc in manibus clericorum. Unde probabile videtur quod deus ordinavit totam istam turbacionem et eius quietacionem media ad hunc finem.
 30 Quantum ad 3^m obiectum, notum est quod timor filialis, qui amore gignitur, est securior et perseverancior quam servilis. Existente igitur toto cleri patrimonio in manu regis et secularium dominorum, ex illa societate, prudenter parcendo populo, tolleretur occasio sic iterum
 35 delinquendi. Nam iuxtaponendo (quod absit), vindictam hominum, vel bellice subito occidendo vel extinguendo convictos paulative secundum leges Anglie, sequeretur omnino inconveniens Anglie destructivum. Nam iuxta

II. It would take away the power of punishing the crimes committed. But such punishment should be left to God.

Besides, we possess by God's grace the means of regenerating the kingdom; and the goods of the clergy, i. e. of the poor, might compensate the temporal lords for their losses.

This would restore peace, disburden the Church of superfluous riches, and punish the bad clergy, cause of all the mischief, while sparing the people. Augustine praises a similar act, done in circumstances of less necessity.

III. It would destroy all fear to commit these crimes in future. But filial is better than slavish fear; and it would remove the occasion of crimes.

Whether those men are put to death in battle or by law, there will follow

7. sup'gatu A. 12. ipsis C 15. ecclesie magis C. 16. pregravatur omnes MSS; ib. pseudo A. 18. glosa A. 19. in pro et A. 21. beatus Ang. B; beatus deest C. 28. eiusque C. 36. subiecto omnes MSS. 38. destructum A; destructum C.

hatred and treason in the kingdom; in the first case, the issue will be doubtful; in the second, the punishment will last longer.

primum, cum pars communitatis sit forcior, foret ambiguum in manu dei, que pars aliam superaret; et sequeretur undiquaque regni destructio, et invidie perpetuatio, et omnino post invasionem hostilem forinsecam fallax prodictio et undique seductiva regni enervatio; 5
2^a autem via non differt ab ista, nisi quod pena foret diuturnior et sic maior. Amoveat igitur deus istam vindictivam superbiam, et inducat istam lenitivam iusticiam et religionis quam Cristus instituit inductivam. Nec caderet periculum in prudenti eius practica quo ad 10 deum vel homines, licet sathan et vecordia et yppocrisi exterreat mundiales.

But so long as the clergy does not amend, the Church will suffer; and both clergy and laity are here to blame.

A king who takes a priest from the service of the altars to his own service, is like a steward who would take a servant from watching over his lord's treasury.

One would be unfaithful to God, the other to his master.

Et, ut dicam breviter, antequam corrigatur clerus per quem pacificaretur ecclesia, non erit in penam 68¹ illius criminis inturbata. et specialiter propter symoniam, 15 in qua tam clerici quam seculares comunicant. Quis, inquam, fidelis dubitat quin reges aut quicumque Domini seculares distrahentes curatos a dei ministerio et mancipantes suo officio seculari, sunt proditores dei et sancte matris ecclesie, et per consequens merentur quod 20 suum dominium sit dupliciter invasum ab hostibus et undique perturbatum? Suppono autem ex fide quod omnis secularis dominus quantumcunque dives aut nobilis sit mendicus, servus et villicus dei sui; patet Matth. 6 et Luce 16. Si igitur ballivus domini temporalis con- duceret ex thesauro illius domini tamquam servus eius ad illud fidele ministerium obligatus, servum perne- cessarium ad custodiam thesauri precipui domini sui, et post conduccionem alienans servum a ministerio domini mancipat suo ministerio, consumpto ex tali negligencia 30 principali thesauro atque dominio, nonne foret proditor domini sui manifestus? Multo evidencius rex terrenus conducens curatum cum patrimonio Cristi, et post conduccionem, alienans ipsum ab animarum regimine,

Matth. VI, 12
Luc. XVI, 1—12

4. plus AC. 7, 8. vindictam B. 8. lenitivam B: lenitivam C.
11. et before vecordia deest AC. 18. 19. mancipatos AB: mancipant C.
21. dominium deest C. 27. medicus A. 27, 28. per necessitatem A.
30. mit'tio C. 31. nomine A.

9. In answering the foregoing objections, Wyclif, as is often the case with him, gives us to understand his meaning much better than when he stated his point. He then said nothing explicitly about pardoning the rebels: here he evidently points to that. It is probably an oratorical precaution (in this case at least) rendered necessary by the horror of the crimes committed. The rebels, however, had been most savagely treated.

mancipat eum contrario seculari servicio secundum
mandatum regis superbie, ratione cuius perditur vel in-
vaditur precipuus thesaurus Cristi et regnum; quod est
multitudo animarum fidelium. Talis, inquam, rex foret
5 inexcusabiliter proditor dei sui.

Et multo gravius proditores sunt clerici consencientes
et procurantes hoc facinus; sed maxime fratres, con-
fessores principum, et qui debent esse speculatores
prenuacciantes regnis periculum. Ve terre talibus pro-
10 ditoribus occupate! Cum enim ex fide non venit regni
tranquillitas vel alicui prosperitas nisi per dominum
Iesum Christum: ipse autem non dat cuiquam nisi ad
regulam, ut est dignus, quomodo credimus Christum
bona sua talibus proditoribus impertiri? Revera, si habent
15 hoc, est equivoce, ut amplius confundantur. Et in isto
necessitatis articulo potest ecclesiasticus experiri si clerus
plus amat popularem ecclesiam quam suas decimas, si
plus sapit religionem Cristi quam voluntatem domina-
tivam seculi, et breviter, sive sint anticristi discipuli sive
20 Cristi. Nam per suas possessiones temporales potest
quietare comunitates et dominos, ac de remedio per-
petuo talis periculi providere. Si enim omnia temporalia
dominia mortificata ecclesie Anglie essent ad utilitatem
regni et exoneracionem populi limitata, tunc forent
25 posita in pios usus rationabilius et de lege Cristi fun-
dabilius, quam sunt modo; nec sciri potest via facilior
qua satisfaceret pro crimine perpetrato. Ille itaque clerus
plus amat mammonam quam iusticiam vel salutem po-
puli, qui isti sentencie contradicit.

30 Si autem Cristi religio ponderatur, constat quod ipse
Philip. *exinanivit se ipsum pro ove centesima perdita requi-*
H. 6 *renda, ut patet Lu. 15. 33^{bus} annis vixit in summa*
Luc. *paupertate et egestate pro dicta ove in via penitencie*
XV, 4 *instruenda, et demum occisus est morte durissima pro*
35 *dicta ove ad perpetua pascua reducenda. Et in ista*
Act. *scola instructus est Petrus, Act. 5^o dicens: Argentum*
III, 6 *et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do.*
Act. In ista scola ludebat Paulus, qui manibus suis quesivit
XX, 33 *sibi et sociis vite necessaria, ne gravaret ecclesiam,*
40 *ut patet act. 20. Ex quibus convincitur, cum Christus in*
Petro precipit sacerdotibus suis pascere secundum istam

But the clergy
is yet more to
blame,
especially the
friars,
confessors of
princes, who
advise such
deeds.
Christ will not
bless the land
that is filled
with such
wickedness.

It is easy to see
which side a
priest takes,
whether that of
Christ or the
devil; since by
giving up his
possessions he
can do so much
good; if then he
is against this,
he sides with
Mammon.

As, or Christ's
religion, it is
known that He
gave up all for
the one lost
sheep, that He
lived poor and
died a cruel
death.

Peter and Paul
followed His
example,

and we should
follow theirs.

regulam oves suas, Joh. ultimo, quod apostota sentencie Joan. isti contrarius est profundius discipulus anticristi. Illi XXI, enim horrerent sequi Cristum et suos apostolos, ¹⁵, ¹⁷ dando animam suam pro summo coniugio, qui renuunt dare bona minima a quibus, ut imperficientibus, sunt 5 per Cristum prohibiti pro hac sponsa.

4. qui *deest* A. 6. per Cristum *deest* B.

CAPITULUM QUARTUMDECIMUM.

- A. Decimus tortor sugens ecclesiam est conventiculum pseudofratrium. Contingit enim de illis, ut aliis, esse aliquos falsos fratres; quia aliter foret tota eorum
 5 comunitas confirmata, quod Christus non concessit apostolis, ut patet Scarioth et multis pseudoapostolis. Sicut enim in ordine cristiano salubriori ecclesie pullulat maior fructus, sic in illis perversis surrepsit maius periculum. Dictum est autem, 2^o cap. De apostasia, quomodo aliter fratres contingit esse apostotas: et sic in
 10 illis, sicut dictum est in tractatu, De symonia, contingit de episcopis quod contrahant symoniam in congressu, in progressu et egressu. Sic contingit de fratribus, quoad apostasiam et duas alias hereses, quibus sunt ex
 15 cautela diaboli maculati. In ingressu dupliciter, vel fratrifactor, vel etiam fratrifactus; fratrifactor autem deterius: primo, quia sepe presumptuose consulit et agit contra divinum consilium et utilitatem ecclesie, ac persone: quod omnino est peccatum, ut patet libro 5^o
 20 ca^o 3^o. Si enim peccatum sit dare occasionem deteriorandi proximum, pretendendo opera misericordie corporalis, multo magis malo consulendo in antecedentibus ad salutem perpetuam, et maxime incitamentis necessitando ad tante dampnificans. Notum quidem est quod
 25 multi viverent sanccius extra religionem privatam vel in religione alia, plus eis consona. Ymmo multi propter huiusmodi differenciam sunt dampnati. Quomodo igitur |
 68^b non foret magnum peccatum inconsulto domino in-

The tenth tormentor is the bad friar; some such there must be, unless all friars are confirmed in grace.

Apostasy is committed amongst them on entering the order, whilst remaining therein, and on leaving it.

The friar-maker takes a most heavy responsibility upon himself in giving advice which if followed may lead to damnation.

1. Ca^m XIII A: Cap. *deest*; 14 *in marg.* BC. 2. Initial D in red ink; *ib.* suggests A. 3, 4. pseudo fratrium — aliquos *deest* A. 4. aliis *pro* aliquos C. 8. surrepit magis B. 11. otigit A. 12. symoniam *deest* A. 13. otigit A. 16. etiam *deest* C. 20. sit *deest* A. 26. religionis A. 27. Quo C. 28. in *deest* A.

9. See *De Apostasia*, whole of Ch. II. 11. *De Symonia* Ch. VI.

The best of them say they never made any triar but one, and that they regretted it ever after. A triarmaker claims to have entered into God's secret counsels. This advice should be given with the utmost reserve.

Many think that to enter one of these orders savours of sortilege, for it is all a chance whether it will render one good or vicious; and they freely submit their eternal salvation to such a chance, while the true way to be saved is open to them.

Objections.
1. "According to this theory, it is wrong to exhort to a virtuous life, since perseverance is doubtful, and a fall would then be more severely punished."
But the case is not the same; virtue, good in itself, causes evil only by accident.

ducere talem statum? Ideo periciores fratrum dicunt quandoque quod nunquam fecerunt aliquem fratrem, nisi unum, se ipsos scilicet, et dolent continue illud opus. Istud autem est possibile esse verum et prudenter dictum; cum enim talis consiliarius pretendit se habere spiritum consilii dei, videtur quod blasfemat tam frontose et nescie procurando. Unde videtur mihi quod nemo consulerit, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelationem vel agitationem spiritus sancti, quia aliter indubie ageret indiscrete. Unde quidam in talibus consiliis eis ambiguis locuntur condicionaliter; ponunt *custodiam ori suo*.

Unde videtur multis quod opera fraternitatum huiusmodi, que eciam spissim pullulant inter laicos, inter alia mala sapiunt sortilegium, cum nemo ambigit quin, sicut bonum fortuite potest ex illis contingere, sic et malum; nec est fraternitas huiusmodi per se bona, cum sicut casualiter multis proficit ad virtutem, sic et multis officit ad dampnationem. Hominem igitur ponere se in tali sorte perpetua est maioris stulticie quam mittere sortem, sicut fecerunt apostoli de eleccione, cum videtur quod tales sortilegi continuo et perpetuo sine fundamento se sorti subiciunt in periculo: quia manifestum videtur quod ingrediens fraternitatem huiusmodi subicit se fortune quo ad beatitudinem vel dampnationem. Sed quid stultius aut periculosius, cum via secura sit patula? Detestabilis itaque est argucia anticristi: *Tali sancto convenit talis conversacio*: ergo, *toli secte debet competere*, cum tempore apostolorum statim destrueretur ista blasfemia, eo quod soli Cristo convenit talis primatus, non ita singulariter in specie, sed in genere.

Sed contra predicta instatur primo, ex hoc quod nemo consuleret ad virtutes, cum stat virtuosum occasione virtutis dampnari severius; ut patet de Scarioth, de quo Cristus dicit Matth. 14. *Bonum erat illi, si natus non fuisset homo ille*. Sicut enim homo occasione peccati fit humilior, sic occasione virtutis a qua ingrate cecidit, fit dampnabilior. Sed supposita distincione de occasione data et occasione accepta, patet quod non est color concludere quod nemo debet consulere ad virtutes, cum sint per se bone moraliter, quibus nemo abuti potest.

7. nescit AC. 6. sanctis A. 12. operam B. 12, 13. huius A.
17. canar A. 18. sic pro se B. 23. subiceat B. 28. illa C.
29. itaque BC; 26. singularitatis C. 34. Matth. 14 deest C.

Ideo, quicumque ad illas consulit, ut sic consulit ad bonum, licet occasione male accepta, per se ex malo, et per accidens a bono, malum proveniat.

- 2^o obicitur quod nemo consuleret iuxta istam senten-
 5 ciam ad habitus vel actus qui non sunt per se morales, et per consequens non ad statum, artem, scienciam vel opera ex illis procedencia; quod est inopinabile et derisum ab Augustino et decreto; et consequencia patet ex hoc quod omnia talia contingit esse mala moraliter.
- 10 Hic dicitur quod theologus vere dicit quod nichil est proprie consulibile, nisi in ordine ad beatitudinem; aliud autem quod quiescit in temporalibus, est consilium impiorum. Et sic sunt aliqua per se consilabilia, ut vir-
 15 tutes et opera virtuosa, et alia per accidens consilabilia plus vel minus, ad que homo debet consulere condiciona-
 liter cum timore, ut vivere expropriarie, discere legem dei et facere talia bona de genere disponencia ad virtutem. Dissuadere vero debemus illa que sunt propin-
 quiora periculo.
- 20 3^o instatur per hoc quod non solvitur difficultas, cum non docetur si licet consulere homini simpliciter, ut sit frater, et sic de aliis consiliabilibus, quo nec sunt virtutes
 C. nec opera virtuosa. Hic dicitur quod super virtutes vel earum opera simpliciter debet cadere consilium. Ideo
 25 videtur michi quod nemo, nisi habuerit ad hoc revelacionem, debet consulere homini esse fratrem; non quia ex hoc potest contingere malum, sicut occasione male accepta potest indirecte malum confingere ex virtute; nec solum ex hoc quod de ingressu in religionem privatam tan-
 30 quam de neutris vel bonis de genere potest malum contingere propter defectum virtutis ex carencia bonificantis circumstancie: sed ex hoc quod introitus in religionem talem videtur esse malum de genere; non enim debet fidelis ad opera neutra consulere, nisi ha-
 35 buerit ad hoc revelacionem; ut aliter nemo consulit edificari domos, graduari in facultatibus vel prepollere in seculari dominio; ymmo nec aliter consulit ad opera bona de genere; ergo multo magis nemo aliter consuleret ad opera mala de genere, cuiusmodi videtur

"Then", it may be urged, "it is wrong to advise any act indifferently in itself, from which evil may spring."

But no advice should be given, except in so far as it makes for salvation; and according to this rule we should advise or dissuade, as anything is useful or dangerous.

"This answer", it is urged, "does not show whether we may or may not advise any one to become a Friar."

All advice ought to tend towards the practice of virtue; and thus, as to enter into religion is not simply good, nor good rather than evil, but evil rather than good, no one ought to advise such an act, unless by divine revelation.

3. in *pro* a A. 4. secundum *pro* iuxta C. 5. 96th A. 6. oculite C.
 12. q^{ue}rit A. 13, 14. conciliabilia C. 20. Sed 3^o B. 22. consiliabilibus C.
 23. frater *pro* super A; *ib.* virtutis AB. 27. 96th A. 28. de *pro* ex C;
ib. sed nec C. 29. revelacionem C. 32. si *pro* sed omnes MSS.
 33. relig C. 36. edificare C; *ib.* facultatis C.

A Friar loses much of a Christian's liberty, and is obliged to do much that Christ does not approve.

None but the Holy Spirit had the right to tell the prophet to marry a harlot; we can only advise to do what we are certain to be good.

2. "Not only the state of a Friar is rather good than evil, but it is a state of virtue, to which all should be exhorted".

If so, no Friar could possibly be bad, since no man is bad in a state of virtue.

esse intrare religionem privatam; quia hoc repugnat multis libertatibus, in quibus Cristus voluit Cristianos vivere, et necessitat ad multa mala, que Cristus docuit fideles aufugere. Diabolus tamen sub colore boni commixti seducit incautos, ut patet ex fructu consilii hodie dierni. Nam nunc consulitur ad bella, ad lites et ad potencias seculares, nec sapit secularibus consilium domini ad virtutes; ad illas tamen debet tantum sapiens absolute consulere, et relinquere regimini proprii spiritus facere neutra vel bona de genere. Nam habitis virtutibus 10 ut homines sint filii dei, credendum est ex fide apostoli quod comuniter ex spiritu dei quo ad talia erunt ducti. Sed hodie blasphematur induendo personam spiritus sancti, qui precepit prophete fornicariam accipere et ex ea | filios procreare, ut patet Osee; cum nemo debet 15 69⁶ nisi in sibi certis consulere. Et hec ratio quare spiritus consilii deest ecclesie. Nemo debet sine speciali consilio dei in sibi neutris consulere, quia in hoc fatue extolleretur super deum. Deus enim non potest consulere vel mandare, nisi quod scit et ordinat prodesse ecclesie. 20 Blasfemus autem talis frontose consulit quod nescit repugnare voluntati divine, utilitati ecclesie et profectui persone consulte: quod est indiscreta temeritas. Et patet per locum *a maiori* quod stultum foret, deficiente instinctu divino, per cautelas mendaces inducere hominem 25 ut sit frater.

Secundo obicitur per hoc quod esse fratrem nedum D. est bonum de genere, sed bonum virtutis ad quod movet deus: ergo salubre est ad illud bonum anime excitare. Pia igitur fraus foret proximum ad talem cristianis- 30 mum inducere, ubi in ingressu foret plena peccatorum remissio, in progressu foret meriti maioracio, et in egressu foret, preter spirituale suffragium fraternitatis, plena absolutio. Blasfemum igitur foret in istis spiritui sancto resistere. Hic patet quod falsum assumitur. Nam 35 si esse fratrem esset bonum virtutis, cum nemo potest abuti virtute, vel cum illa dampnari, sequitur quod repugnat legi dei quod aliquis frater peccet mortaliter vel dampnatur; consequens blasfemum. Ad cristianam

1. reputat A. 9. absolut'e A; *ib.* regnum C. 10. fateri AB.

11. *after* apostoli, *a blank space* AC. 12. fide *pro* spiritu A; *ib.* 9nt' A. 29. igitur C; *ib.* ex'citari = exercitari A. 30. fraus *deest* B. 30, 31. cristianissimum A. 33. preter *deest* A; preter spirituale officium vel suffragium C.

itaque religionem debet homo consulere et hortari, cum illa sit infinitum perfectior quam privata religio, ut hic supponitur ex dictis alibi. Cui religioni cristiane repugnat peccare mortaliter vel dampnari; dicente ewangelista

This argument applies only to the pure religion of Christ, in which no man can sin; and if a Friar does not sin, it is because he belongs to *that* religion, and not as a Friar.

I. Joan. III. 6, 7. *I. Joh. 3. Omnis qui in deo manet, non peccat. Et sequitur: omnis qui natus est ex deo peccatum non facit, quoniam semen ipsius in eo manet, et non potest peccare, quoniam ex deo natus est.* Nam repugnat vere cristianum peccare

mortaliter, sicut repugnat predestinatum peccare in spiritum sanctum. Et sic intelligit beatus Johannes simpliciter in sensu composito. Si autem hoc sit verum de fratribus, hoc est in quantum sunt cristiani de generatione seminis verbi dei, et non in quantum sunt fratres; nec sunt aliter nisi nominetenus et false in

religione vel ordine, sed "frater" est commune ad bonos et ad malos, cum secundum apostolum sit consummatum

periculum in falsis fratribus. Et sic esse fratrem in sua comunitate, nec est per se bonum virtutis, nec bonum de genere; sed esse fratrem secundum adinventionem

novam videtur esse superflua et periculosa adieccio. Multi tamen possunt ex speciali gracia. parvipendendo tradicionem onerosam retardantem ab ewangelicis consiliis, salvi fieri; sed non in quantum fratres, sed in quantum filii Cristi sic faciunt. Et illud periculum

To be a friar is therefore a superfluous and dangerous thing; yet through a special grace of God, many of them can be saved.

tradicionis adiecte potest prodesse per accidens. Ideo inspiratus ad hoc debet *temptare spiritus, si ex deo sunt*, et, veritate inventa, facere ipsum fratrem; hoc tamen raro evenit, cum pro toto Cristi millenario non evenit; et per consequens per tantum temporis non fuit

bonum de genere, et illa antiqua bona de genere sufficerent pro viacione ecclesie. Non enim isti religiosiarche suscitant novum genus boni, licet fecerint novum bonum individuum Et istud evidet ex hoc quod a tempore invencionis huius religionis private invaluit proportionaliter perturbacio in ecclesia militante. Non enim est secta ista per se magis bona de genere quam secta Machometi, vel alia, legem domini introducta.

It therefore the thought of entering religion comes to us, we must become Friars only after mature examination; which happens but very seldom.

Nec colorari potest fraus qua fratrifacti seducuntur per mendacia, per munuscula, per applausus sophisticos cum principium religionis Cristi eius doceat strictitatem

There is no excuse for the devices employed to bring new

4, 5. 1 deest AC; 3 deest A. 10. before sit an erasure AC; in. consummatum C. 19. secundum deest C. 28, 29. cum — evenit deest C. 40. strictitudinem BC.

Friars into the order; Christ spoke with simple and stern truth to those who wished to follow Him; we ought not to beguile any one by flattery or gifts.

That on entering into religion, a Friar is purified from sin may be true, but any one else giving aims with feelings of equal renunciation of the world would be absolved just as well; and it is likely that the general intention on entering is rather quietly to enjoy the good things of life, than to suffer poverty with Christ: which wrong intention is sinful: so instead of sin being remitted, a fresh sin is committed by entering the order.

quo ad mundum. Sicut enim magister optimus docuit E. suos discipulos totum mundum relinquere, et istud frequenter in ewangelio inculcavit, ut patet Matth. 8 et Lu. 14: Sicut enim dixit scribe quod *non habet ubi caput reclinat*; sic dicit discipulis: *Omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet non potest meus esse discipulus*. Sic igitur, iuxta doctrinam ewangelicam veritatis, discipuli debent induci, non per adulaciones neque mendacia, cum spiritus et verbum illud effugiant, sed per veritatis strictitatem verbi dei.

Et quantum ad illud de purgacione fratrifacti a crimine, patet quod rite factus frater vel quicumque religiosus ex contricione culpe qua prius mundo erat deditus, a crimine priori absolvitur, sicut absolveretur, cum paribus, faciendo quamcumque elemosinam, et specialiter detestando quamcumque talem religionem privatam, cum non propter eius eleccionem sed propter piam dileccionem domini sit solutus. Unde probabiliter creditur quod comunius, ingrediendo talem religionem sophisticam, quis novo crimine innodatur, quam a prius comisso absolvitur; cum comunius ex temporalium, quibus inhiat incubacione, ex honoris humani affeccione, et ex quieta temporalium fruicione, quam ex paupertate penalis Cristi eleccione in tales ordines est ingressus. Ideo invencio huius sacramenti dileccionis criminis habet effectum suum comunius in fuga religionis huius, quam in eius amplexu, cum eius sophisticacio yppocritica ex introitu | comuniter vigoratur. Et patet quantum ad plenam remissionem criminis in ingressu, cum semper vel ut plurimum contigit oppositum, quod non movet, sed disuadet ut quis ingrediatur talem ordinem. Nam

4. scribe *deest* A; *ib.* nō q. h3 A. 6. meq. esse A. 10. virtutis A;
ib. strictitudinem BC; *ib.* verbum C. 17. cōcom AC. 22. mundani B.
 24. nota qualiter communiter privata religio ingreditur *in marg.* B.
 30. plu^m A; plu^m C.

11. It is evident that Roman Catholics would never admit that *in principle* it is wrong to advise men to enter into religion; but the practical disadvantages of the course blamed by Wyclif became so apparent that not 200 years after, St. Ignatius Loyola gave us one of the first questions to be asked the candidate: *Whether he had acted upon the advice of any member of the Society?* and if so, though the advice was 'good and meritorious', his admission was to be deferred until some future period. I believe that many modern Congregations have adopted this rule.

Cristus et apostoli non cognoverunt istas versucias, sed hoc in secta phariseica reprobavit, et tamen secta illa fuit antiquitate et personarum sanctitate solempnior, cum apostolus fuit, ut dicitur Act. 23, phariseus.

Act. XXIII, Et eodem modo dicitur de maiori-
 6 progressu. Nam quicumque habuerit puriorem caritatem, quod comunius evenit in non illaqueatis ritibus, plus meretur. Nec docet Anzhelmus vel alius quod in quantum
 10 quis est de tali privato ordine plus accenditur in caritate; et aliter indubie est fratrificatio impertinens maioritati meriti. Quod si allegatur singularis penitencia, dicitur quod ampliorem habet secta Machometi in pocione aque. Ideo libertas religionis Cristi est quod
 15 nec cibus nec potibus nec indumentorum cultibus astringitur. Et quod illi ex maiori caritate dant deo tam fructum quam arborem, sed seculares solum fructum,
 F. patet quod est incollorata fallacia. Nam si per *arborem* intelligatur "substantia hominis" vel "essencia voluntatis", et per *fructum*, "opera virtuosa", manifestum est quod
 20 quicumque dederit deo fructum talem dat arborem; cum dei sit omnis creata essencia vel natura. Ideo stultus foret qui non ex toto corde obligaret se totum deo. Unde vel Cristus et apostoli eius post missionem spiritus sancti non dederunt deo arborem cum fructu;
 25 vel contingit quod seculares dent deo claustralibus perfeccius tam fructum quam arborem. Apostoli enim, qui proficiendo processerunt, noluerunt habere abbatem aliquem preter Cristum, et post illos multi sancti martires obtulerunt se deo perfeccius sine ficcione huius
 30 infundabilis sacramenti. Ideo videtur multis infundabile sacramentum quod, ex eo ipso quo quis intrat religionem privatam est peccatorum suorum plena remissio.

Et ad tantum cecantur simplices, quod habent habitus quorundam fratrum, quos prope mortem induunt; quia

The same may be said of life spent in the order; perfection depends on love of God, which is quenched by superfluous observances. As to penance, Mahometans drink only water.

The say that they give to God the tree with the fruit, whilst seculars only give the fruit; which is false, for the will is the tree and good deeds the fruit: both must go together.

Some simple people have by them a Friar's habit, believing

1. vñciaß A. 2. phariseica A; *ib.* cum *pro* tamen *omnes* MSS.
 4. 20 AC. 5. miti A. 6. quecunque C. 9. intenditur A. 10. fratrificatio AB. 11. secularis A. 14, 15. aſſn'gñt² C. 21. creatura A.
 23. post *deest* AB. 24. vel fructum C. 25. debet C. 30. Non *pro* ideo C.

34. *Mortem*. This practice is followed by members of the Third-Order, and (at least as *now* existing) seems rather to express a pious hope than the confident belief that Wyclif justly reproves. There are traditions in most Orders (perhaps in all) that any one dying amongst them will be saved; but the fact that the Church has never lent its authority to such traditions, probably tends to counteract feelings of presumption.

that dying
therein, they
cannot be
damned.
This is
blasphemy,
as it implies
that every Friar
is safe.

And as a man
with the Holy
Sacrament in
his mouth
may go to
Hell, we must
conclude that a
Friar's habit
can do more
than Christ's
Body!

Also that this
habit is worth
more than all
the treasures
of the world;
no wonder then
that much
money is paid
for the
privilege of
wearing it.

instructi sunt quod impossibile est in habitu tali mortuum
vel superari a diabolo vel dampnari. Per tales autem
blasfemias anticristus extollitur super omne quod dicitur
deus; quia certum est quod talis habitus plus vel tantum
valeret fratri sic habituato, sicut extraneo valeret eius 5
unica induccio. Et sic omnes illi fratres forent super
apostolos confirmati; quod est nimis blasfemum. Simi-
liter reliquie talis habitus forent perfecciores quam
sacramentum altaris, quod nos credimus corpus Cristi,
quia stat hominem dampnari etsi habuerit in hora 10
mortis sacramentum illud in faucibus, ut comunicantur
greci. Sed non sic stat cum inducione sui habitus, ut
fingunt; sed quid blasfemius? Similiter, iuxta istam
blasfemiam, habitus talis foret infinitum valencior quam
omnia bona temporalia sphere terre, sicut religio sua 15
est infinitum melior quam religio secularis. Quid mirum
igitur, si anticristus per talia iocalia accumulet thesauros
absconditos? Sed quid foret detestabilius inter fideles
quam tam blasfema ydolatria? Talis autem fingitur
absolutio cum sacramentali suffragio confratrum in 20
mortis articulo. Sed cum Cristus, apostoli et martires
caruerunt tali adminiculo, ubi ponemus eos in celo?
Ecclesia igitur debet cavere de talibus cerimoniais ydo-
latris; quia aliter in brevi extingwerent legem Cristi.

3. "The Friars
supply the
want of
parish priests;
salvation comes
through them,
and they thus
have a right to
alms."

Quite true; but
their multitude
renders such
alms a very
heavy burden.
They supply
the want of
parish priests;
but if the pure
religion of
Christ has
suffered
diminution
of fervour,

3^o principaliter arguitur per hoc quod fratres in 25
defectu curatorum predicant, ministrant sacramentalia
et absolunt; per ipsos igitur quos oportet sustentari G.
de bonis ecclesie; necesse est ut veniat eis salus. In
isto videtur multis surripere rapinam fratrum sicut
aliorum tortorum ecclesie cuius radix est eorum mul- 30
titudo onerosa et ministrorum applicacio sumptuosa.
Conceditur tamen quod, occasione ignorancie prelatorum
et declinacionis sui ad seculum, necesse fuit fratres
subintroduci, ut sint peioribus supplementum. Et
necesse est ut de illis, sicut de prioribus, fiat declinacio 35
a lege domini. Si enim in pura religione Cristi fiat
seduccio, quanto magis in ritibus adinventis! Confir-
matur ex hoc quod ordinacio tam pia, legi Cristi tam

3. tollitur A.

9. t^h altaris A.15. corporalio B; *ib.* spere AB.

17. sibi B.

20. sacra C.

27. vel C.

30. est *deest* AB.

31. instru-

mentorum AC.

32. igitur AC.

33. sue C.

35. est *deest* AB.38. X^{ta} *pro* tam *before* pia A.

consona, excedit ordinationes alias seculares laudabiles. Nec est color negare ordinationes hominum. Et idem deducitur ex hoc quod deus vult tales religiones esse, sed ex eorum onerosa multitudo sequitur inconveniens

theirs has also suffered the same and much sooner.

5 ecclesie: Cristus enim non habuit nisi 12 apostolos ad illuminandum universalem ecclesiam; et unus prior minus sufficiens habet 100! Ideo necesse est ex mon-
struositate talis multitudinis errorem procedere. Nam constituit sibi legem religionis (tanquam indignans
10 Cristum quem refugit) alius legislator, et legem quam invenit legi Cristi preponderat. Et ubi Cristus ad regendam totam ecclesiam fuit contentus 12^{cim}, Anti-
cristus undiquaque extollitur.

Christ had 12 Apostles, and a single Prior has 100 Friars under his rule

Et certum est quod eius multiplex onerosa multitudo
15 nocet reipublice atque ecclesie. Sicut enim per cecam dotacionem cleri dominiis extractis a secularibus, qui soli debent sic regere, multa loca prius habitabilia sunt deserta, sic per subtractionem multorum fratrum a parentibus atque republica undique perturbatur

This is hurtful to the commonwealth and the Church; multitudes are taken from their parents and the service of the State; which is as criminal as to steal an ox or a slave.

20 ecclesia. Si igitur in lege veteri furans aut spolians
70^a bovem vel hominem, invito | domino, debuit puniri, ut patet Exo. 21 et 22^o capitulis, quare non in lege gracie
Ex. XXII, sic spolians hominem a republica debet puniri secundum

"They are converts according to the Gospel"; this may be said, but not proved.

1 leges seculi? Si dicas quod proselitus convertitur ad
25 dominum secundum legem evangelii; doce quod fingitur; et quo ad aliud, legem pone. Certum quidem est quod nec docetis istam conversionem ad dominum, nec docetis ex lege ewangelii hoc esse licitum; nisi forte
Matth. ex dicto Cristi Matth. 23; *Ve vobis, qui circuitis mare*
XXIII, *et aridam, ut faciatis unum proselitum!*

Neither converts, nor according to the Gospel.

15 Nec est ratio quare validus mendicus constringi et puniri debeat secundum leges hominum, quin a pari frater validus, inordinate mendicans, debeat eciam frenari, cum secundum apostolum Thess. 2^o et Act. 20,
35 labor corporalis eis conveniat. Confirmatur ex hoc quod nulla obediencia cristiani est valida, nisi de quanto sonat in maioritatem obediencie domino Jesu Cristo; sed nullus fratrifactor scit quod filius extractus a tutela parentis magis cum fratre Cristo obedi-
40 patre; igitur videtur illegitima et temptativa presumptio.

Why should not an able-bodied Friar be punished like a sturdy beggar? they should work with their hands.

The obedience they pay to their prior is so much taken from

4. ing^{hß} A; in'genß C.
29. 21 B. 37. sonuerit C.

16. a *deest* B.
10. allegittia C.

19. undiquaque C.

that which is due to their parents; and only better if Christ is better obeyed in the first case.

The friar-maker often takes an heir from his legal guardians before he is of age, which contradicts the Apostle's teaching, who forbade a converted slave to leave his heathen master; yet this involved much more danger to faith.

Some say that all sects but Christ's are thieves and robbers.

If any man has the right to punish him that steals cattle or a slave, how much more him that robs him of a son?

No security is given that the young Friar will be a better man than he would have been as a secular priest or a layman.

It is by a mere blasphemous fiction that he is supposed to be better; as a Friar's gown is made more of than the robe of Christ.

A legislator says that for a

Item de lege dei *heres sub tutoribus et actoribus* H. *est usque ad prefinitum tempus a patre*, ut patet Gall. 4^o Gal. Sed illud tempus fratrifactor sepe dirumpit. Ideo IV, 2 videtur, quod sic est contrarius legi dei. Nec valet blasphemia quod acquirit, ut sic, novello ordini servum 5 deo, quia electio Cristi hoc non sufficit in Scarioth. Item, religio Cristi fuit rationi sic consona ut servum conversum non extraheret a domino infideli, ut patet Thess. 6^o. Igitur multo magis religio Cristi legi consona 1 Tim. non extraheret filium a parente fideli; nam parens IV, 1 habet maius ius ad filium, et ipse minus distraheretur a religione Cristi quam servus fidelis cum domino infideli. Sed hec novella religio extollitur super Cristum. Ipsa enim dedignatur plus quam Beghardi tractari in causa civili coram iudice seculari. Sed Cristus et apostolus hoc tulerunt. 15

Unde quidam dicunt quod omnes secte, quotquot venerunt alie a religione cristiana, sunt fures et latrones, quia *non intrant per ostium* ut dicitur Jo. 10. Et sic Joan. videtur quod non dicetur ratio quare secundum leges X, 1 humanas a servo, iumento vel quocunque usibili puniri 20 debeat, et ad restitutionem astringi, quin per idem sic debet esse de fratribus, qui pueros sub custodia atque proteccionem parentum defraudant ab ipsis atque republica; ad satisfaccionem congruam debent cogi. Nam verius, tenerius et naturalius habet quis filium 25

quam temporalia vel iumentum. Nec assecuratur respublica quod talis, ut sic obligatus, melioratur et plus affidatur ad dominum, quam remanens secundum puram religionem Cristi, factus sacerdos vel colens seculum. Ymmo videtur quod talis apostota in hoc quod sic 30 fratrificat puerum, sit blasphemus; quia spondet quod divino consilio est proprium, et quod est sibi absconditum. Sed sicut blasfeme fingit filum, lanam vel instrumenta, quibus habitus suus contextitur, converti in reliquias preciosiores quam tunica Cristi inconsutibilis, 35 et sic de tanto mundum perfici; sic fingit de filiis hominum quos furatur. Unde quidam legifer dicit quod

4. illa B. 5. sic obligatum C. 7. sic *deest* A. 9. 1 Tim. 6 C; *ib.* legi Christi A. 14. begardi BC. 15. sch' A. 16. omnis A. 18. qui B; *ib.* hostium AC. 19. docetur B; *ib.* quare *deest* B. 20. invento *pro* iumento C. 21. nestringi A. 31. quod *pro* quia A. 33. filium *pro* filium omnes MSS. 34. infra A. 35. inconsutibilis BC. 37. quod *pro* quos AC.

14. Beghardi. See Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus* (Leipzig 1790).

iustum est privatum sic filio astringere unum fratrem illius secte suo usui, quousque habeat filium suum restitutum. Secta enim talis non debet bona sua in foro contencioso repetere, sed pati iniurias bonorum suorum cum gaudio
 5 atque penas iniuste illatas; igitur multo magis non debet post fraudem commissam persequentes suos impetere.

son thus taken away, a father has the right to force a Friar into his own service until his son is given back to him.

1. Et quantum ad temporales elemosinas quilibet de populo a quo tam fraudulenter subtrahunt non solum temporalia, ymmo proles, timeret dare sectis talibus
 10 in quantum huiusmodi elemosinas corporales, cum a sociis furum debet fomentum subtrahi. Et quantum ad excessum consumpcionis sumptuose bonorum pauperum, notandum primo, quod non refert sive persona simplex sive agregata ut secta consumpserit bona ecclesie,
 15 nisi quod persona secte est in furto forcior, in fraude circumvencior, et in pertinacia perseverancior. Si, inquam, attendimus ad quantitatem temporalium, que fratres callide suggunt de populo regni nostri, tunc, ut experti calculant, nec dux nec rex suggit tantum annuatim de
 20 regno, quam suggit illa monstruosa persona sectarum. Et si modum vel causam spoliacionis attendimus, dominis temporalibus ex lege ewangelii didragma et alia onera redditus temporalis sunt debita. Sed ista stipendia seductoria sunt per mendacia et comenta
 25 blasfemie subtiliter introducta. Et dico subtiliter, quia communitas fratrum in Anglia colligit annuatim per minucias multa milia talentorum, cum quibus regnum et eius pauperes plebei potuerunt relevari. Quod ex hoc convincunt experti seculi, quod vix invenies unam
 30 villam in Anglia, quin ex collectis fratrum symoniacis
 70^b post sermonem ex fraternitatis redditibus et ex pri | vatis spoliacionibus communitas fratrum excedit quo ad pecuniam ville dominum vel rectorem. Non enim construunt hec magna edificia, nec preter sumptus publicos

As for alms, none should give any to the abettors of robbers.

The quantity of money they take is excessive, and it matters little whether a single person or a society combine thus to defraud the Church; except that the latter is more powerful.

They take more than any lord, more than the king himself.

To the former we owe taxes; but to these seducers, nothing.

Yet a single community every year collects many thousand talents.

It is calculated that no village gives so much to its lord or parish priest as to the Friars' collections and confraternities

&c.
 If they build such edifices

2. suum proprium BC. 1. repolere A. 9. temporali A. 11. subtrahere A. 12. processum B. 18. lingunt A. 22. dedragma C. 26, 27. p pinciaß p minciaß A. 28. plebi A. 33. dominium AC.

27. *Talentorum* is not a very definite expression, but Wyclif defines it in other places. See English Works of W. III, 400. "Friars spenden commonly and needlessly sixty thousand mark by year . . . And now . . . is the people charged by sixty thousand mark by year . . . Friars . . . waste vainly and needless sixty thousand mark by year of the poor commons of the land." See also Buddensieg, *Polem. Works*, p. 192; *Triologus*, p. 359, and *Sermones*, II, p. 49. 60,000 marks came to £ 40,000.

and give such
splendid
banquets, the
money
drained out of
the nation
is provided by
alchemy or a
miracle.
And so there
must be a
falling off in
paying taxes to
the king; the
more so,
because Friars,
however rich,
have nothing to
pay.

They are
practically
independent of
the king;
which would
be seen, if he
attempted to
evy taxes upon
them.

They exhaust
the resources
of the kingdom,
not by open
robbery but
worse still, by
a continual
though
imperceptible
taking of small
sums: like a
hectic fever
which works
slowly but is
incurable.
Any Friar
whom this
exposure
displeases
confesses his
own
wickedness:
as Iscariot,
conscious of
his crime, was

preparant sumptuosa et privata convivia, cum aliis
expensarum excessibus, vel cum arte alkymica vel cum
peccunia Angelorum manibus ministrata; sed subdefalcant
de regno per cateractas absconditas. Et sic, cum regnum
sit tantum finitum suggibile de thezauro, patet quod
necesse est populum regi suo et dominis suis deficere
in tributis, et eo celerius quo a comunibus suis secu-
laribus eciam egenis presbiteris censum exigit, sicut in
casu requiritur: et cum a fratribus, quantumcunque
divitibus, nichil capit; et tamen ubi presbiter secularis
habet unicum annuale stipendium de regno (forsitan
sex marcis), frater habet de eodem regno multa abscon-
dite! Et non dubium quin symoniace, ad destruccionem
toxicam contrate quam palliant.

Et sicut episcopi quidam blasfeme blaterant quod
non debent subdi mundi principibus isti practisant
abscondite in effectu; non enim sciunt se subditos
regibus nec ulli conviancium, nisi forsitan anticristo.
Cuius experimentalis probacio foret, si rex de illis, ut
de aliis legiis suis, censum pro necessitate regni sui
exigeret. Notaret qua paciencia, quibus capitaneis, et
quo seculari vinculo a fratribus regni subsidium levaretur.
Taliter autem cecantur regna cautela diaboli scopantis
interpolate de regnis minucias insensibiles, per quassubdole
enervantur. Nec differt hoc a spoliacione patula, nisi
quod est magis dampnabilis; quia yppocritica et peccato
diaboli spirituali similior: et sic magis radicitus puni-
tura. Nam febris ethica est periculosior effimera, et
tamen per illam naturale humidum insensibiliter, sed
insanabiliter, est extinctum. Nam pena talis diutina
quodammodo superat repentinam.

Nec alicui bono fratri, sed falso displiceret deteccio
istius sentencie, cum non verius posset reatum suum
vel opere vel consensu detegere, quam contra versucie
huius sanativum scrutinium murmurare. Unde indicium
est profundius inveterate malicie, quod fratres plus aliis
contra rimas sui sceleris recalitrando remurmurent. Et
hinc Scariot post reprobacionem pronosticam tradicionis

1. conviva B. 3. subdesulcant A. 5. fiete A; finite C. 7. steri-
lius A; sclerius C. 8. et pro eciam B. 10. cum AB; tum C.
11. palliant twice A. 15. quidem B; ib. blacte'ant A. 17. censent C.
20. leg^{us} A. 21. Notare B; Notaretur C; ib. contra pro qua A; ib.
p^{cia} B. 23. enim B. 24. interpellate A; ib. immicicias A. 25. de-
beret A. 28. ethica deest A. 33. huius C. 35. strictivum B.
37. ruinas C. 38. pnosticam A; prenosticam C.

- Cristi, dicitur primo omnium apostolorum respondisse. the first to ask Christ if he was guilty.
- Matth. *Numquid ego sum, rabi?* Matth. 26., quia peccatum
 XXVI, in effectu gravissimum facit peccatorem conscius sibi
 25. ipsi. Ideo necesse est ut omnis creatura se ipsam
 5 iudicet; sed et quod peccatum ebulliat et dicat sui
 ipsius gravedinem. Unde in istis non obligo me ad
 monstrandum gravedinem narrati criminis, sed relinquens
 iudicium eius politicis, scio quod est necessarium
 demonstrabile, quod fratres potuerunt sic peccare, et
 10 sententia *de inesse* opinabilis ex effectu. Recolerent
 autem fratres quomodo ex paupertate sua primeva
 placuerunt domino, et quomodo sunt hodie monstruose
 ditati in seculo; non solum unica simplex persona in
 opere, sed persona multiplex in consensu, cum vix
 15 unum ex eis conventualem invenies quin ex monstruositate
 et comuni peccato tocius persone aggregate aliquo
 Ps. 6 generum consensuum sit fedatus; quia psalm. 14^o
 XVII, scribitur: *Cum perverso perverteris*. Quid enim refert
 20 personam simplicem vel globatam irreligiose construere
 20 basilicas vel habitacula, nisi quod peccatum persone
 aggregate est gravius et reipublice nocivius? Nam tale
 edificium monstruosum est sumptuosius; sicut enim
 sanctitas comitive edificat, sic comitive perversitas viciat
 et retardat; hoc autem in presenciarum fit crebrius.
 25 Quod videtur sanctos apostolos attendere, qui cognoscentes
 Scarioth sub magistro optimo tam sanctam comitivam
 dispergere, post parvam latenciam conflictus,
 L. tanquam nubes et aquille sunt dispersi. Non refertur
 igitur quod multi fratres construunt unum opus culpabile,
 30 nisi quod ipsum sit ex pluri et maiori et ex plus
 defensato crimine reipublice plus nocivo.

The gravity of the crime is here irrelevant; its possibility is certain; its existence is inferred from facts.

At the beginning, the Friars were acceptable to God by their poverty; now their convents are monsters of iniquity, each man by consent being responsible for all. And this solidarity, instead of making the harm done to the commonwealth less, makes it greater. There is danger in living together.

And the results of the wrong done fall not only upon the people but even on the king and the nobles. The people cannot pay the nobles their dues, nor can liegemen be found:

5. et *before* quod *deest* B. 7. demonstrandum BC. 10. sua *pro* sententia *omnes* MSS. 17. consensuum *deest* A. 21. *guñ* A. 23. infidelitas B. 27. parvam *in marg.* C. 30. 31. ex — publice *deest* C. 31. *pluo* A. 32. in *after* consequens *in marg. corr.* A. 33. fratres *deest omnes* MSS. 38. spoliantur BC.

the Friars
neither fight
nor labour, nor
teach; they
only weaken
the State.

Multitudes
could be fed
with what
they devour, and
they would
make in
themselves a
large army of
servants of the
king.

The Friars
cause the
barrenness of
the land, and
all intrigues
and treasons
between one
kingdom, and
another.

If one part of
the nation lives
at ease,
burdening the
rest, the nation
must be weak.

Living in
different
countries and
speaking several
languages, they
have interest to
betray; and
some of them
are said to do
so, traitors
both to their
brethren and
to the great
men whose
confessions
they hear.

Their deeds
show that they
are not perfect
followers of
Christ, but the
contrary.

As for
obedience, they
may

pseudofrateres a populo subtrahuntur? Nam neque pugnant ut milites, neque laborant redendo censum, ut incole, neque instruunt ad regis obedienciam, ut curati; sed in omnibus istis subdole partes istas debilitant politie. Notet itaque prudens politicus, quantum populum 5 sustentaret rapina que ab istis pseudo[fratribus] consumitur; quantum exercitum constitueret comitiva mendicans valida, que in clauastro includitur, et quantam gentem legiam et fidelem regis faceret plebs extraordinaria que illegaliter evagatur.

Ista igitur creditur causa quare sunt | tot loca 10
regnorum sterilia, quare ipsa sunt per populum ita 75^a
paucum legitimum habitata, et quare sunt tot con-
tenciones et machinationes proditorie inter regna; cum,
ista causa non posita, contingerent opposita. Nec dubium 15
quin omnino ista evenire poterunt ex pseudofraterum
malicia. Si enim minima pars regni fuerit per fraudu-
lentam yppokrisim ad onus reipublice ociata, quomodo
non foret legitimus populus rarus, et loca sterilia?
Posset eciam esse quod fraterum copia per regna 20
infecta dispersa mendaciter machinetur mendacia ad
placendum utrique populo, et sic seminent iurgia atque
bella. Sic enim audiui unam partem fraterum offere
se ad probandum prodicionem in aliam. Nam libere
possunt bilingues intrare regna contraria; et possunt, 25
ob favorem contrate quam incolunt, detegere proditorie
sua consilia. Possibile quidem est quod produnt tam
corporaliter quam spiritualiter, et fratres proprios et
magnates confessione eis iniunctos. Ideo videtur racio-
naliter tractatus et comunicacio cum hostibus preclu- 30
dendus. Nemo enim foveret familiarem diabolo. M.

Et facta fraterum ostendunt quod non sunt in hoc
inpeccabiles cum bonis angelis confirmati, nec 2^m
Cristum, qui est boni consilii angelus, ad pacis con-
siliium et ad paciendum iniurias inclinati; quia Pro- 35
verb. 6^o de apostatis his dicitur: *pravo corde machinatur* Prov.
malum et in omni tempore iurgia seminat. Nam nec VI,
12—14

6. fratribus *deest omnes MSS.* 9. regnis BC. 11. inquam BC;
ib. 10 = tota C. 12. per *deest* A. 13. letimū A; letim C. 14. intra AC.
15. confingerunt B. 16. omnia BC. 23. audiri A. 24. Nec B.
29. 30. racionabiliter C. 30. 31. precludendo B. 37. et in *deest* A.

35. *Boni consilii Angelus.* This name of Christ is taken from an Antiphon of the Nativity; it is also in the Litany of the Holy Name. See Poole's *De Civili Dominio*, I.

confirmacio nec religio ipsos astringit, quin possent, sicut Scarioth, prodere minus bonum. Et quantum ad rationem obediendi dominis secularibus, patet quod subdole subtrahunt ab eis omne civile servicium; quia
 5 quantumcunque creverint in redditibus, eciam ultra seculares dominos, vendicant libertatem a seculari servicio, nec faciunt regi omagium in se vel in suis prelatiis. Ideo, licet occidant quotquot de fratribus mixtim de aliis, vendicant quod regis non interest eos
 10 punire; dum tamen non reputentur apud ipsos apostate. Nec habet rex, ut inquit, legem aliquam secundum quam sic puniret ordines sic mendicantes. Et sic conceditur quod de quanto fratres in regno Cristi proficiunt sunt laudandi, et de quanto sunt profectui ecclesie
 15 contrarii, sunt culpandi; et necesse est ut per fratres mittentes scandala veniat ecclesie Cristi salus. Et cum omnia que eveniunt de necessitate eveniunt, patet quod necesse est ipsos exinde puniri.

Et patet ad confirmationem de ordinacione, quod
 20 non sit pia, sed deordinacio impia; pius enim contentaretur de Cristi regula. Et sic mensura virtuosa contempnitur, et per consequens in deum patrem, cui mensura est propria, blasphematur; nec dubium quin blasphemant in filium, cum innuunt regulam Cristi reli-
 25 gionis esse nimium defectivam, cum maiorem numerum regularum et ordinum posuisset. Blasphemant eciam in spiritum sanctum, cum prius et diucius ecclesiam, et regimini talium ordinum ponderasset. Quantum ad ordinaciones hominum, patet quod omne opus humanum
 30 laudabile fuit a deo eternaliter ordinatum. Ideo pium foret concedere ordinacionem deo competere, et quod homo sit ordinacionis divine humilis executor. Ampliando autem sic ordinacionem, ut mundus hodie loquitur, probabile videtur quod religiosarcha ex ceca pietate
 35 et temera est seductus, et sic necesse fuit istos errores, in tempore quod deus disposuit, terminasse. Sic enim deus ordinat de omni peccato penam quam approbat, et totum peccatum per accidens proficere mundo et sue ecclesie; et ita, sicut deus vult omne peccatum

become richer than lords, and yet they will never submit to any temporal obligation. If a Friar is not what they call an apostate, they say that the king has no power to punish him.

So far as they follow or do not follow Christ's law they are to be praised or blamed.

Their rule is not pious, but the contrary, blaspheming the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Good laws made by men are fore-ordained by God from all eternity; but the first founders of these sects have laid down rules out of mistaken piety; which rules must in their application come to an end. Yet these orders may, like every evil, be profitable to the Church by their punishment.

3. obediendum AB. 5. subtrahunt C. 9. et mixtim C; *ib.* inde ipsos *pro* eos B. 12. sic *before* mendicantes *deest* B. 15. quod B. 20. sed *in marg.* C. 21—23. mensura — mensura *deest* AB. 25. *nimium* (sic) A. 27. cum *deest* A; *ib.* et *after* ecclesiam *deest* BC. 33. sic *deest* B. 34. religiosi archa A.

It is temerity
in man to
make any
perpetual
statutes; more
particularly so
in these cases.

secundum esse suum secundum, prodessens ecclesie,
ita wult errores istarum religionum puniri, et destruentes
ipsas propterea premiari. Et licet in humana ordina-
cione de perpetuitatis heredibus et aliis mundanis
statuicionibus sit magna temeritas, maior tamen et 5
attingens blasphemiam est in privatorum ordinum statui-
cionibus, licet yppocrite videantur pretendere sanctitatem.

3. premiare *omnes* MSS. 5—7. sit — statuicionibus *deest* C.

CAPITULUM QUINTUMDECIMUM.

A. Et hic obicitur contra dictas instancias.

The case for the Friars stated: they follow Christ closely, are thus most useful to the Church, and therefore deserve to be free from taxes and honoured by Christians, especially as they exalt the Roman Curia.

Videtur enim quod fratres secuntur Cristum summe, et per consequens tamquam maxime necessarii ad vivificandum et gignendum plebem in domino, maxime sicut Cristus et apostoli prosunt ecclesie. Sicut igitur illi ab exactione seculari fuerunt liberi, sic fratres successores eorum quo ad sensum et laboricium debent esse. Sic enim honorati sunt sacerdotes in utraque lege, etiam aput paganos; magis igitur aput eos qui diligunt dominum Jesum Cristum. Ipsi igitur tanquam magis obediencie filii plus exaltant romanam curiam. Expediens igitur foret quod totus mundus viancium foret similis secte sue.

15 Hic dicitur primo, quod frater est nomen honoris significans spirituales gignicionem Cristi atque ecclesie, et sic innuit maiorem propinquitatem honoris quam inter fratres carnales; quod effectus debet ostendere, ut animam suam ponat pro proximis. Unde sicut in tempore apostoli divisi sunt fratres ad sensus equivocos,

Answer.
'Friar' signifying spiritual brotherhood, is a name of honour, provided it is true.

71^b multiplicatis falsis | fratribus, ut dicit apostolus, sic est modo. Ad esse igitur veri fratris, quantum ad propositum nostrum, requiritur primo quod vivat expropriarie, ut vixerunt apostoli. Sic enim vere nominati sunt fratres Jeronimus et alii religiosi, ut patet in scriptis eorum. Et in hoc mendicantes excedunt religiosos possessionatos, cum in hoc secuntur Cristum similius; cum Luce IX dicit ipse: *Omnis ex vobis qui non renunciat omnibus que possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus;* quem gradum renunciacionis optime docuit Cristus in facto cum suis apostolis.

The first requisite of this true brotherhood is to live in poverty; and herein Friars are preferable to monks.

1. Ca^m 15 in red ink. 2. Et in red ink A; Sed pro et B. 6. S⁴ A; ib. enim B. 12. magis deest C. 17. honoris deest B. 24. vixerant A. 28. 14 BC.

But, as robbers
may also be
poor, this is not
enough.
They must
besides keep
themselves
unspotted from
the world: if
not, they are
not of the
brotherhood of
Christ.

As a sign of
hatred of
worldly things,
they will not
even touch
money.

This is well;
but what if
they love that
money?
they are then
hypocrites.

According to
their
institution,
they should
resemble
the Apostles;
Christ however
intended His
Bishops to do
this.

But they have
fallen away,
and prefer their
sect (though not
their persons)
to the general
good of the
Church.

Hoc autem non sufficit ad *esse* veri fratris, cum
brigandi, pirate, et summi discoli vivunt expropriarie
cum ipso diabolo. Ideo oportet, iuxta beatum Jacobum, Jac. 1,
quod frater religionis munde *custodiat se immaculatum* 27
ab hoc seculo. Sic enim exponit beatus Jeronimus 5
illud Matth. 19 *Vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis* Matth.
me "Primum", inquit, "fecit Socrates philosophus". Ideo XIX,
perfectum adiungitur quasi forma, *et secuti estis me*. 29
Ista igitur forma requiritur ad *fieri* veri fratres, et per
consequens oportet quod non apostotet, *terens pede* (ut 10
expositum est 2^o ca^o De apostasia): cuius enim pes sic
oblique inficitur, quantumcunque egenus fuerit, ab
ordine Cristi excidit. Unde nos, calcando terram, quan-
tumcunque mundi fuerimus a mortali, egemus locione
pedum cottidie, ut dicitur Jo. 13. Et in signum dete- Jo.
stationis temporalium fratres minores nec ferunt pecunias XIII,
neque tangunt. Scarioth enim in portentum portavit 10
loculos. Quod si ipsi fratres in hoc sentenciant elonga-
cionem affectus a temporalibus, certum est quod illa
est observancia laude digna. Sed si signo tali obligatorio 20 B.
assit inordinata affeccio circa pecunias per quam paupertas
primeva minuitur, quis dubitat quin hoc sit dampnabile,
et gravans signum ypocrite? et tunc sunt a Cristi
vestigiis maxime elongati. Debent autem fratres ex
institutione 2^a tanquam apostoli sequi Cristum propin- 25
quius. Sed ex institutione primeva Cristi hoc competere
debet episcopis, et pape specialiter. Sed quia illud
blaspheme contrariatum est ex humana stulticia, qua
diabolice statutum est quod episcopi seculariter sint
potentes, suscitavit deus paulative religiones privatas 30
secundum totum in eis laudabile, ut suscitant semen
Cristo. Sed diabolus nimirum repente decepit has sectas
singulariter et specialiter in hoc quod, *querentes que sua* 2 Cor.
sunt, postponunt bonum comune prestancius domini XIII, 3
Jesu Cristi. Nec refert sive inordinate afficiantur persone 35
simplici sive collecte, nisi quod 2^m est nequius.

1. ad esse *deest* C; *ib.* cum C. 5. beatus *deest* AC; *ib.* Jacobus A.
7. Socrathes C. 12. obliget A. 13, 14. quantecunque A. 15. con-
tinue C. 18. vere sumant C. 22. hoc *deest* A. 23. anticristi C.
24. elogati A. 29. fr' A. 34. ecclesie B. 35. sive *deest* B. 36. simpliciſſie A.

5. Jer. Comment in Matth. XIX (edit. Basle, 1537, t. IX, p. 58).
11. De Apostasia, c. III, p. 31.

- Conceditur igitur quod fratres forent ex suppositione plus necessarii, si suppleant defectus in episcopis ordinatis a Cristo. Sed si sunt in eadem dampnacione profundius, quis est in ecclesia magis superfluous a fidelibus destruendus? Sufficit enim ecclesie, ymmo superfluit, partis secte sue primeve insania, licet non nequior, sed ad maius onus ecclesie introducta, ut 1. Reg. 12 dicitur de David, qui Philisteis finxerat se insanum; quanto magis, in facto se iudicans insane membrum diaboli est a criticolis reprobandus? Unde quidam prenosticant quod sicut in humano corpore membrum ultimo veniens ex peregrino glutino recedit citissime, sic oportet esse de caducis partibus adiectis ecclesie. Primo enim, ut cor, formata sunt membra ecclesie coniuncta Cristo 2^m religionem simplicem cristianam; posterius adiecta sunt membra monstrua paulative, que adherent 2^m traditiones hominum adinventas. Et illas sectas oportet secundum hoc putridum ordinate dissolvi.
- Sed consolacio est fratribus et cunctis fidelibus, quod sicut omne membrum hominis spermaticum resuscitabitur, sic in quacunque secta homo fuerit resurget ad gloriam, si finaliter servaverit religionem simplicem cristianam. Quamvis enim contigit transire de secta in sectam, tamen necesse est omnem predestinatum vivere finaliter secundum religionem simplicem cristianam. Traditiones autem adiectas oportet dimittere, et proportionaliter ut predestinatus maiorem caritatem servaverit, sive fuerit sutor sive episcopus, erit maior in regno celorum. Prescitus autem usurpans perfectionem statum, ex eius maiori abusu gravius dampnabitur.
- C. Nec dubium quin contigit in quocunque statu maiorem humilitatem servare quam facit ista privata religio; cuius indicium est quod nullus paciendo opprobria more luciferi magis recalcitrat.

Friars are indeed necessary to the Church, if they are what they ought to be; if merely superfluous, and much more it worse than the Bishops, they should be destroyed.

As the member that is last added to the human body is the first to go, so it will be with the Friars.

But as every member that really belongs to that body will rise again, so all good Friars must be comforted by the hope of eternal glory, as they have followed Christ, and set aside vain traditions.

In any state men can be more humble than in theirs; they are excessively averse to humiliation.

5. ecclesie Cristi C. 6. se sue A; *ib.* primeva A; *ib.* sit BC.
 7. ut patet C; *ib.* 21 BC. 10. prenosticat C. 11. ultimum C. 12. glutino C.
 16. menstrua B. 26. eciam B. 27. pdestinaty = perdestinatus A. 31. in *deest* C.

10. The umbilical cord, perhaps; or the teeth and hair. In the third part of *Logica*, now publishing, Wyclif shows much knowledge of anatomy and physiology, as taught in his time. His description of the human eye is striking.

Three defects in
their order;
1. they live
together
without reason;
2. their
community
possesses more
property than
a secular
person. 3. They
are over-
burdened with
traditions and
observances
that accumulate
incessantly.
It were better
if they were
dissolved.

Patet ergo quod fratres sophisticando a religione
Cristi exorbitant. Primo, in hoc quod persona secte
sue est superflue et infundabiliter conglobata; 2^o in
hoc quod illa persona vivit seculariter in proprio
sceleracius persona simplice; ut patet de edificiis et 5
aliis temporalibus adiacentibus ultra exemplar comune
Cristi cum suis apostolis. Et 3^o in isto potissime
quod accumulunt continue tradiciones, ut anticristus,
per quarum preponderanciam | a lege et operibus Cristi 72^a
subtrahitur. Ideo indubie melius foret quod omnes 10
iste secte cessarent et viverent generaliter et simpliciter
secundum legem quam Cristus instituit; quia per hoc
cresceret cristiana religio, tota secta faciente meritorie
quod Cristus precipit, ubi iam opponitur, minuitur et
laxatur. Nec hoc inconveniens evadi poterit, stantibus 15
istis sectis.

Let them
follow Christ,
and no longer
complain that
their freedom
is encroached
upon.
They cannot
serve two
masters;
it is they that
have lost their
liberty by
leaving the
service of
Christ.

Teneant igitur secte viam Cristi, sicut fecerunt
cristiani in primitiva ecclesia, et tunc est illis collor
expetere pristinam libertatem. Sed more cati petunt
repugnantiam, volentes simul servire deo et seculo, 20
quod est contra diffinicionem Cristi, Matth. 6^o. *Nemo* Matth.
potest duobus dominis servire. Cum igitur quolibet talis VI, 24
secta deteriorando progreditur, dicatur ei de ablacione
libertatis pristine conquerenti, quod ipsamet stulte
et infideliter illibertavit se ipsam, ingrate deserendo 25
sectam Cristi et obligando se diabolo atque mundo.

It is quite right
that temporal
lords should
oppress them,
with the proviso
of better
treatment,
should they
return to their
first religious
state.

Ideo fidelis temporalis dominus conculcaret huiusmodi
ingratos filios; et dicere posset ex caritate quod adhuc,
si humiliter redire velint ad religionem primevam,
communicabit cum illis liberius quam seculares comuni- 30
carunt cum digniori ecclesia primitiva. Sed, ut cati
diaboli, exigunt contradictoria, ut vulgariter dicitur:

Catus vult piscem, sed non vult tangere flumen;

But they want
two contrary
things: freedom
and temporal
advantages.

sic isti volunt quod dentur eis temporalia ultra patres
suos primevos, non obstante quod sunt indigni, et 35
collacio dampnificet ambas partes. Et pro parte sua
non allegant vitam Cristi sive consilium, sed insanam
stulticiam dotancium dominorum.

They are so
changed from
what the order

Ad tantum quidem secte predictae sunt ducatu diaboli
lapse ad seculum, quod patriarche eorum possent 40

1, 2. Patet — Primo *deest* A. 8. accumulatur A. 11. viveretur BC.
14. oportet BC. 23. oblacione C. 26. mundo *deest* A. 29. red-
dire C; *ib.* velint A; volunt C. 31. eccia A. 32. w^t A; wlt C.
38. duorum dominorum B.

- Matth. dicere illud Matth. 25^o. *Amen dico vobis, nescio ros.* was at first, that their
 XXV, Sed ad tantum sophisticantur in alienas adulteras, Founders would not know them.
 12 quod patriarche iam superstites possent dicere cum The number of those that keep
 1 Cor. apostolo 1 Corinth. 1^o: *Gracias ago deo, quod neminem* to their rule in
 I, 14 *vestrum baptisari preter Crispum et Gayum.* Pauci enim its first
 (ut Crispus, qui interpretatur *sciens*, et Gayus, qui strictness is
 interpretatur *commotus*), custodiunt legem datam in excessively
 principio sectarum: ita quod Cristus illis potest dicere small.
 D. 5 illud Joh. 7^o. *Nonne Cristus dedit vobis legem et nemo* Christ rightly
 Jo. VII, *ex vobis custodit legem?* Ad tantum enim sophisticatur reproaches them
 17 ex secularium fratrum stulticia et propria, quod seculares for not keeping
 Gen. possunt dicere Cristo illud Genes. 37^o *Vide si tunica His law.*
 XXXVII, *filii tui sit an non,* cum ad tantum quidem variantur *The coat may*
 32 *habitus interioris hominis et dissimilatur ritus vivendi* be *the coat of*
 15 a vita Cristi cum suis militibus, quod Cristus vere Christ's *son*;
 cognoscit quod habens nomen filii, relicta figura but the interior
 corporalis habitus, sit *a bestia devoratus*. Quid ergo si man is gone;
 Cristus veniat in humanitate ad domicilia possessiona- *an evil beast*
 20 torum aut fratrum, et inveniat utriusque domus proprias *hath devoured*
 blafemant in eum, quod vivunt sibi simillime? Illa *him.*
 autem pars est dampnabilior, que potius procurat vel What if Christ
 25 quod mendaciter scandalisare fratrem nostrum foret were to revisit
 peccatum dampnabile; quanto magis blasphemare sophistice the earth?
 in dominum Jesum Cristum! In istam igitur blasphemiam would he
 oportet nos et fratres incidere, quamdiu sumus sic acknowledge
 30 monstruoso. their likeness
 Vivamus igitur sive in comuni vel proprie Cristo to Him?
 similiter, et tunc vendicemus, vel verius, cum angustia What
 parce sumamus titulo elemosine huiusmodi subsidium blasphemy then
 temporale. Cristus enim et apostoli non fuerunt onerosi to pretend to
 35 contratis vel gentibus, inpetrando propria habitacula such a likeness!
 ad dampnum reipublice; sed vixerunt ut peregrini in
 edibus alienis. Nec dampnificaverunt patrias in consum-
 matione victualium excessiva; sed contenti de paucis
2. secte in C; *ib.* arenas A. 4. 1^o A. 6. *sciens deest* B.
 11. quia B. 15. quoddam A. 16. cognoscat BC; *ib.* filia A. 18. et C.
 19. utrumque C. 20. Utensibilia A. 24. Tollimus A. 25. *scadali* A.
 32. *vedicio* A. 35. *qctis* = contractis A. 37. non enim B.
 37, 38. consumpte A; consumpcione C.

let us imitate
the Apostle
who worked,
with his hands.
If poverty is
abandoned,
all men follow
Antichrist.

But whoso
loves Christ
will strive to
destroy
Antichrist
especially in his
heresy
concerning the
Sacrament.
He says it is
an accident:

Christ's
doctrine is that,
bread by
nature, it is
sacramentally
His Body.
Yet few believe
this, and those
that do are
persecuted.

And thus, men
believing the
doctrine of
Antichrist,
Christ is set
down as an
arch-heretic, as
in the days of
Caiphas.

et parcis non erant aliquibus onerosi; sed vixerunt,
quando oportuit, de labore proprio. Unde act. 20 Act.
dicit apostolus: *Argentum autem et aurum aut vestem* XX,
nullius concupivi, sicut ipsi scitis; quoniam ad ea que 33, 34
mihî opus erant, et his qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt 5
manus iste. Numquid credimus fratres et alios validos
sequi Paulum in istis? Imo, paupertate Cristi proscripta,
omnes secuntur vestigia anticristi.

Quod si cristianus diligit dominum Jesum Cristum,
non solum spernit anticristum et suos complices, sed 10
ninitur ewangelice ipsum destruere et suos fautores,
quia aliter est indubie hereticus anticristus; cum Cristus
dicit Luc. 11^o *Qui non est mecum, contra me est*. Ut Luc.
anticristus seminat in signis kalendas sue heresis, XI, 23
dum mandat suis credere quod sacramentum altaris 15
sit accidens | sine subiecto et non de possibili corpus 72^b
Cristi. Cristus autem mandat fidelibus suis credere
quod dictum sacramentum consecratum a suo presbitero
sit naturaliter panis, et sacramentaliter corpus Cristi. Et
tamen pauci sunt, nisi layci quin declinent a sermone 20
Jesum et adhereant infideliter anticristo; in tantum
quod persecuntur vel scandalisant fideles de heresi,
qui in isto credunt verbis Cristi. Et tamen Joh. 14^o E.
dicit Cristus: *Si quis diligit me sermonem meum servabit*; Jo.
qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat. Cristus XIV,
autem dicit expresse de pane quem sacerdos consecrat: 23, 24
hoc est corpus meum, ut patet *De apostasia* diffuse. Et
tamen pauci, eciam de satrapis, credunt isti auditui,
sed declinant ad scolam contrariam, credentes anticristo,
quod illud sacramentum sit accidens sine subiecto, nec 30
potest esse corpus Cristi. Et sic extollendo anticristum
super omne quod dicitur deus, dicunt implicate quod
Cristus cum dictis suis fuit falsissimus et summe here-
ticus; sicut sacerdotes, scindendo vestimenta sua in
signum sanctitatis, inposuerunt Cristo blasphemiam, ut 35
patet Matth. 26, sic indubie faciunt hodie sacerdotes
Baal, qui dicunt se esse sic accidencium sacratores;
persecuntur enim Cristum in suis fidelibus, et partem
anticristi mendaciter magnificant, dicentes quod Cristus

5. aurû et vestem (sic) C. 4. sed pro sicut C; ib. satis B. 7. in
in marg. A. 20. qui A. 25. qui — servat deest A. 26. enim B;
ib. expresse deest C. 31. excellendo A. 37. sic deest C.

non sic intenderat, cum fregit accidens, et non panem. Et sic nituntur hereticare omnes sanctos quos allegavi pro ista sententia; sed non possunt.

They would like to declare the Saints who are of my opinion heretics.

Tres igitur hereses contra trinitatem seminant discipuli anticristi. Dicunt enim primo contra potenciam patris, quod deus non potest facere illum panem, cum non potest esse vel fieri corpus suum. Et sic Berengario sunt in errore profundius, patre suo. Ipse enim, quando fuit in heresi, dixit quod panis post consecrationem est nude sacramentum, et non corpus Christi. Isti autem dicunt quod non est panis, sicut tamen dicit scriptura concorditer, sed accidens sine subiecto et solum sacramentum, ut patet de consecratione d.

There are three heresies in this matter:

one denying the omnipotence of the Father, saying that He could not make that bread to be Christ's Body;

11^a. *Ego Berengarius*. 2^o hereticant contra sapienciam verbi et dei, dum dicunt quod deus destruit totum panem, per cuius similitudinem cognoscerent fideles misterium sacramenti; et frustra ac impossibiliter induit accidens sine subiecto, quod non potest 2^m Augustinum esse aliquod sacramentum. Et sic nituntur tollere dei

the second against the wisdom of the Word, implying that the bread is destroyed, and a useless accident remains:

20 sapienciam ac potenciam. Et 3^o blasphemant contra spiritum sanctum, dicentes quod illud sacramentum non est a fidelibus adorandum, cum sit res tam detestabilis; sed corpus Christi quod est in eo absconditum, licet illud accidens quod sacerdotes Baal consecrant

and the third against the Holy Ghost, saying that the sign, venerable indeed, is not to be adored, but only

25 sit propter corporis Christi assistenciam venerandum; ac si illuderent Christi fidelibus, dicentes: "non colatis secundum pietatem spiritus hoc sacramentum, cum ex nulla habitudine signat vel sit hoc sacramentaliter

Christ's Body which is hidden there.

F. corpus Christi; sed dimissa fide que fit ex auditu

It is as if they said to the faithful: this Sacrament is not to be adored, not standing for Christ's Body; you must

30 verborum Christi, sompnietis unum alium modum essendi corporis Christi infundabilem, propter quod debetis tantum honorare, quantum creaturam quam volumus, cum ubique sit tota increata trinitas, que est corpore Christi infinitum perfeccior, et maiorem habitudinem

imagine it there with a mode of being such as the Divine

35 habet ad quamlibet creaturam quam fictum accidens habet ad corpus Christi. Nec agregatum ex corpore Christi et natura divina est melius quam ipsa est eternaliter per se. Ideo remanet in potestate nostra instruere ut, ydolatrando quantum honoratis hoc sacramentum, vener-

Essence has, present in all creatures; and therefore every creature is more worthy of worship than Christ in the Sacrament.

1. 3^a A. 7. esse *deest* A. 7. 8. Berengariani AC. 11. Berengaris C. 15. verbum AB. 17. multum C. 19. deis A. 20. in *pro* contra B. 21. sacerdos A; *ib.* olect A. 32. que *pro* quantum in marg. A. 37. sit *pro* est *after* ipsa C.

14. Decr. Grat. 3^a Pars., D. II, c. 42.

And it is in
our power to
determine what
honour must be
paid to it.
There are many
other equally
false
conclusions;
Christ's words
are not
believed,

and blasphemy
spreads every-
where. How
can God's grace
assist them in
the consecration
of these
accidents?

Many 'religious'
are thus
heretics: their
use in the
Church is as
accidental as
the terms which
they imagine to
exist in the
Sacrament.
They wax
furious when
their defects
are pointed out.
they call the
faithful heretics
for believing
that the
Eucharist is a
holy bread;
schismatics for
dealing with
the claims of
the Roman
Curia, so
contrary to
Christ: and
blasphemers
for preferring
Christ's order to
those instituted
by men.
But the faithful
man who does
God's work
can bear all
this and more.

mini sine auctoritate Cristi quamlibet creaturam, fingendo
quod virtute divinitatis assistantis cuicumque quod fin-
gitur consecrari, sicut fit sua consecratio accidentis".
Multa, inquam, sunt infundabiliter eque false ficta.
Sic igitur, licet solus Cristus audiendus est (ut dicit 5
Cyprianus 8 dis. ca^o;) et si solus, tamen plus attenditur
ad dicta Innocencii 3ⁱⁱ vel pape alterius, forte heretici,
quam dictis Cristi. Et illud est prenosticum quod nomen
domini late cottidie blasphematur. Cum, inquam, *omne* Jac. I,
donum perfectum desursum descendit a patre luminum, 17
quomodo non deficit dictis hereticis consecrationibus
accidencium gracia a veritate descendens? Ideo deus
permittit yppocritas incidere in tot hereses, cecando
populum et se ipsos; ut fidelis non dubitat quin dictus
error de quidditate sacramenti sit nimis hereticus; quia 15
in sacramento dignissimo falsificat veritatem.

Ideo indubie sunt cuncti heretici, qui hoc pertinaciter
defendunt. Et in isto casu sunt multi religiosi ex per-
sonali affectione, ex antiquo odio, et ex negligencia
scripturarum. Tales, inquam, apostate, ut sunt heretici 20
circa accidens quo induunt corpus Cristi, sic per
accidens prosunt ecclesie. Unde propter taccionem
defectus ordinum apostantes insaniunt, vocantes fideles
hereticos, scismaticos, et blasfemos hereticos, quia dicunt
eukaristiam esse panem sanctificatum, ut dicit scriptura 25
cum sanctis doctoribus: sed non delirant cum istis
apostatis, vocantes ipsum abiectum accidens quod ignorant.
Scismaticos vocant eos propter hoc quod tangunt defectum
romane ecclesie | in qua *multi veniunt in nomine Cristi* 73^a
dicentes, quia ego sum Cristus. Ymmo, viventes Cristo quan-
tumcunque contrarie, se ipsos implicant, ut anticristus, 5
quod Cristo domino sunt maiores; et sic multipharie
multos seducunt. Blasfemiam autem inponunt fidelibus,
qui super suum privatum ordinem extollunt ordinem cristi-
anum. Sed fidelis faciens opus domini patitur hec et plura, 35
cum Cristus passus est a scribis et phariseis obprobria
ampliora. Ipsi enim perversi erant pessimi, cum Cristus,
qui non potuit acceptare personam, ut patet Matth. 23, Matth.
XXIII, 13—39

1. turam in marg. suppl. C.; *ib.* veritatis C. 5. sicut pro sic AB;
si C. 9. quotidie C. 11. consecratoribus C. 16. verissimo C; *ib.*
dignitatem vel C. 26. sanctis *deest* C. 29. ecclesie pro curie BC;
ib. quam C. 33. se dicunt C. 37. erant *deest* A. 38. p^r pro
potuit; *ib.* acceptari AB.

invehit acutissime contra illos. Quare igitur non sic foveret fidelis, exemplo Cristi contra religiosos privatos eorum filios?

Unde istos phariseos vocat Cristus falsos prophetas et ypocritas sismaticos Mt. 7^o; quorum noticiam Jesus omnipotens, omnisciens, et sponsam suam summe diligens, ostendit ex natura triplici propter periculum Matth. precavendos: *Attendite*, inquit, *a falsis prophetis*, etc. VII, Ubi notantur primo discipuli patris mendacii in vita 15, 16 et verbis sibi ipsis contrarii, quia falsi prophete. Veniunt 10 autem ad acciones in vestimentis ovium, quia non colunt, cum Baptista, plangendo heremum, sed *penetrant domos* secundum apostolum. Vestimenta autem sua, in quibus possunt phariseice stare religionem suam et preeminenciam sanctitatis, deferunt ut vexillum mendacii 15 ad populum seducendum, ac si essent supereminenter vestimenta fidelium, ut sic decipiant oves Cristi; sed more yppocrite sunt *intrinsicus lupi rapaces: lupi*, quia ululatum incognitum emittunt in celum de abscondita potestate et oves strangulant, sed non pascunt; et 20 *rapaces*, quia principaliter intendunt rapere substantiam de personis quas visitant, non ut flores virtutum inferant. Hec autem gerunt in animo. Et 3^o: *a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Est autem triplex fructus hominis secundum triplicem partem ecclesie, ut pars infima 25 vulgi producit terre nascencia; pars media dominorum secularium pacificat potestative populum: et clerus plantat et rigat in ecclesia semina virtutum. Unde licet iste tres partes ecclesie iuvant se mutuo, et omnes debeant fructus meritorios in caritate producere, tamen 30 inordinata eorum comixtio mutuo se confundit.

Notemus quid fructus inferat ecclesie secta fratrum. Nam nec terram incolunt nec plebem potestative defendunt. Ideo potissimus fructus foret quod semen fidei in populo spargerent et partes ecclesie secundum 35 fidem scripture instruerent. Sed acta probant quomodo a tempore quo fratres subintroierunt ecclesiam, isti fructus viancium pulularunt. Exhinc enim secundum prophetiam Cristi crevit fames, quia terre sterilitas bella et commocio, interregna, et, excidente populo ex

They are the sons of those Pharisees whom Christ called false prophets, and gave us a three-fold warning against them.

1. They come, they do not live solitary like Baptist, but penetrate into houses.

2. Clothed as sheep, they are ravening wolves: their habit is a garb of sanctity; but what they want is to devour the substance of the faithful.

3. They are to be known by their fruits.

The people produces the fruits of the earth; the nobility, peace by their authority; the clergy, fruits of virtue.

The Sects produce neither of the two first; and ever since they were introduced, their fruits have been fruits of evil.

1. qua A. 2. et eorum A. 4. et — Mt. 7^o deest A; ib. habet A. 6. nota C. 7. precavendis B. 10. activos A. 15. mendaci omnes MSS.

19. aves A; ib. strangulant A. 26. ptatie A; ptate C; ib. populi C. 32. peccantem C. 36. a pro ex B.

cristianismo, *refrigescet caritas multorum* Nec dubium Matth. XXIV, 12
quin clerus sit causa huius facinoris. Et supposita propheta Christi et apostoli cum experta fratrum malicia, videtur quod ipsi sunt huius fructus mali causa precipua.

All their care is to increase their sect, and take away the goods of the poor: how can they give heed to the work of conversion?

Ideo a *fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*. Si enim fructus 5 sensibilis perpendatur, maior sollicitudo eorum est ad augendum sectam suam, ad rapiendum bona pauperum pro suis edificiis et vescibilibus preparandis. Quomodo H. igitur foret mens sic distracta disposita ad convertendum populum, vel conversum apostolice confirmandum? 10 Apostoli enim, quibus interdicte sunt iste sollicitudines, ex magnitudine gracie vix in hoc ministerium suffecerunt.

The landed monks have not so much splendour as they: so they must get their wealth by miracle, by just alms, or by fraud.

Ideo possessionati cum tota diligencia sua et prediis amplis datis eis primitus non sufficiunt attingere ad alimenta et tegumenta totidem tam sumptuosa in 15 vestimentis et domibus, cum aliis expensis superfluis.

Miracles are out of the question; no alms can be justly given in this case; so they get them fraudulently.

Ideo non superest, nisi ut vel miraculose vel munda elemosina vel rapina yppocritica sint quesita. Miraculum autem circa questum peccunie non legimus Christum in se vel suis apostolis exemplasse. Et quoad 2^m, patet quod 20 elemosina ex comitiva excessiva, ex superfluis expensis et ex vicioso ocio elemosinatorum inficitur. Nec dubium quin elemosinantes nunquam vere pauperes egenos dimitterent, et debita proximo suo et matri ecclesie subtraherent, nisi per yppocrisim horum validorum 25 mendicantium seducti fuerint, cum omnino elemosina talis inficitur ex parte fratrum, qui nec sic, nec tante raperent; et tunc ex grossa ignorantia elemosinancium. Et sic superest 3^m membrum, quod rapina dupliciter perversa perquirunt hec temporalia, tanquam vulpes. 30

All their traits are those of the Pharisees — mere externals, and they all tend to ruin the Church and seduce the people.

Fructus igitur phariseorum istorum foris ostenditur in apparenzia signorum que foris sunt. Ideo dico cum Christo Matth. 5. *Nisi habundaverit iusticia vestra plus quam scribarum et phariseorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum*. Fructus itaque istorum, tam ad intra quam 35 ad extra, est circa maioritatem dissensio, scole Christi dissipacio, simplicis populi wulpina seduccio. Ululant enim confuse et idiotice | infundabiliter quod habent 73^b

3. cum peracta A; cum ex parte B; cum ex pta C. 8. preparandis deest A. 10. onerosum B. 11. introduce A. 12. sufficerunt A. 13. Ymmo B. 15. sumptuosam A. 17. miraculosa B; ib. nuda B: nuda C. 18. fuit A. 19. non legimus deest A. 21. excommunicativa A. 24. mat'ei eccie = matri ecclesie C. 26, 27. elemosinatis A. 27. se pro sic A. 28. et communiter B. 31. et phariseorum deest A.

potestatem in celo dandi inauditum spirituale suffragium. Attendite igitur ab istis wulpibus. Et quantum ad 3^m patet, secundum prophetiam apostoli, quod incidunt phariseice in blasphemiam quam imponunt, utputa, 5 quod sua privata religio sit perfeccior quam comunis religio cristiana; et sic patronus eorum superat dominum Jesum Cristum, sicut vestimenta sua phariseica, in quibus consistit sua religio, magnificant ultra tunicam Cristi, ymmo ultra hostiam consecratam; et sic de mille blasfemiis 10 quas inculcant. Si autem introducti sunt ad corrigendum errores ecclesie, faciant hunc finem, quod fecerunt sue primicie, et dimittant hoc tardatum post emendacionem ecclesie. Sic enim nauta post navigacionem dimittit navem, et homo generaliter deponit instrumenta artifi- 15 cialia contentus naturalibus, cum venerit ad quietem. Si igitur fratres volunt non quod ordo suus destruat, sed quod stante ordine latens enormitas corrigatur, quanto magis sic debet esse de ordine cristiano.

Fundatores igitur ordinum vel peccarunt graviter 20 instituendo stulte novos ordines, vel intendebant ritus adinventos ad tempus solum prodesse per accidens, et servato Cristi ordine illeso ut basi, ritus adiectos esse 1. parvipensos, ut exigit ratio. Et sic, dimittendo omnes istos privatos ordines, servatis conversis in purum Cristi 25 ordinem, totum quod est perfeccionis in ordine servaretur. Nam consonancius esset quod ordo privatus cedat Cristi ordini conversus in ipsum tanquam perfeccius, quam e contra. Nec est blasphemum asserere patronos sepe in edificacione sui [ordinis] erravisse vel fuisse dampnatos, 30 cum non crescit numerus articulorum cristiane fidei, ut canonisaciones hominum adquiruntur. Verumtamen, ut sepe dictum est, pars ecclesie debet reputari salva semper preeminencia legis Cristi, nisi quis habuerit ad contrarium revelacionem vel racionem. Qua quia careo, quiesco in 35 reputacione probabili talium citra fidem.

Sed dubitatur quomodo contingit iudicare opera que sunt fructus moraliter bona esse, cum contingit yppocritas facere bona de genere, intencionem rectissimam et sanctissimam pretendendo. Et pari evidencia qua ali- 40 quantulum vel aliquociens, contingit et semper prescitum

They believe their own blasphemies, and put their founders above Christ our Lord, and their habit above Christ's Body.

If, introduced to amend the Church, they have amended it, they do not need these means any longer; let them throw them aside.

Either the Founders of orders sinned grievously in adding these observances to Christ's law, or meant them to endure only for a time.

It is possible that they may be damned; every canonization is not a new article of faith. On the other hand, having no revelation to the contrary, I believe that a part of the Church is always saved.

How are we to judge that an action is morally good, since it can be hypocritically imitated? and if so, what

2. wlpibus C; *ib.* Et patet A. 6. dominum *deest* B. 6. 7. superat Jesum Cristum, dominum nostrum C. 12. primitive A. 15. veniret A. 16. nolunt B. 20. in faciendo A. 28. e *deest* B. 29. ordinis *deest omnes* MSS. 33. penitencia A. 34. q. effio A. 39. quam B. 40. prestitum C.

becomes of
Christ's rule?
Note 1. that
there are two
sorts of
judgments:
probable and
certain.
2. that a good
deed is not
necessarily a
deed morally
good.
3. that every
good deed can
be judged to
proceed
certainly from
a good natural
cause, and
probably from
a cause
morally good, if
no sign of evil
is connected
with it.
One act is
insufficient to
found a
judgment.
We must note
the frequency
and importance
of each act.

We must not
judge of one
person as of
the whole Sect.
nor put consent
and deed on an
equal footing.
But on these
principles we
see how
corrupt the
whole clergy
has become:
especially the
Friars who
simulate
holiness.
They are mere
images,
whitened
sepulchres; the
first Christians
converted the
heathen, but
these would be
abhorred by
them: to

usque ad finem sic facere. Cassa igitur foret similitudo
Cristi, Matth. 7^o de fructu arboris. Hic dicitur quod
similitudo est consona, tollens fucum phariseicum, quo
ex signis impertinentibus iudicatur bonitas pharisei. Pro
quo notandum primo, quod aliquod est iudicium topicum 5
sive probabile, et in illo sunt gradus. Aliud autem iudicium
est infallibile, sive sensibile sive insensibile. Secundo no-
tandum quod alia est ratio operis boni de genere, et
alia ratio operis boni moraliter. Et 3^o dicitur quod
infallibiliter iudicatur omne opus bonum de genere pro- 10
cedere a bono nature; nec procedit a malo culpe, licet
deus necessitat personam maxime ad illud bonum de
genere suo. Sed iudicium est topicum quod opus est
bonum virtutis, si nec ante nec post ebullit signum malum
de genere. Ideo, sicut una irundo non facit ver, sic nec 15
quodlibet opus unum de genere indicat virtutem. Sed
expecta finem; nota frequentiam, et preponderanciam
attende (ut quod fratres crebro colligunt pecuniam de
auditorio, est signum dampnabile symonie); nec video
quin malus habitus prorumpit quandoque in maculam 20
operacionis sensibilem secundum legem veneni, et non
apparente macula non dampnemus.

Sed de notoria macula fratrum multiplici clamat
mundus. Aliud autem est iudicare de tota secta, et aliud
de ista simplici persona, et aliud de opere vel consensu. 25
Unde indubie cognoscitur quod ad totam sectam cleri
ex sua conversacione varie fructificante a plantacione
primeva, ex cristianismi diminucione et ex paganismi
augumentacione, quod clerus claudicat, et specialiter
fratres yppocrite, qui tante desides simulant superemi- 30
nenciam sanctitatis. Nam cuius spiritus vivificacio causaret
prosperitatem ecclesie, illius spiritus mortificacio inducit
deterioracionem ecclesie. Sed pharisei sunt hodie nude
ymagines polite, mortuorum sepulera, solum respicientes
mundiciam que foris est, ut dominus prophetavit. Quo- 35
modo, queso, una secta cristianismi stante in suo robore,
ut steterunt apostoli, non delectarentur pagani, ut
tunc, suscipere legem Cristi? Sed videntes maiorem
paganismum esse inter nominetenus catholicos horrent

6. et — gradus *deest* A. 8. de *deest* A. 8—10. genere — genere
deest C. 10. omne *deest* A. 12. nunciet C: *ib.* maximam *omnes* MSS.
13. iuci C. 14. fi' C. 18. vel equivalens *after* pecuniam C. 37. te-
cerunt B; *ib.* delectarent A. 38. suscitare A. 39. qui est A.

nimirum nostros, et specialiter clericos, quam suos.

74^a Oportet enim, quod trahens sit virtuosius quam attractum.

Luc. Villicus igitur, de quo Luce 16., exoneraret tam secu-

XVI, lares oneratos tam fructu frumenti et vini, quam eciam

1—9 clerum oleo devocionis propter clericatum et temporalia

oneratum; tunc enim, quando post mortem deficit tempus

congregandi meritorum fructus in horrea, dicet villicus

fodere pro nunc non valeo, et deficiente ratione dignitatis

meriti *mendicare* suffragium a viventibus *erubesco*. Et sic

10 de equa distribucione, et specialiter de prudenti subtrac-

cione mamone iniquitatis, prudenciores seculares domini

in eterna thabernacula sunt recepti.

Uterius, quantum ad exaltacionem romane curie,

patet quod subdole substernitur per tales apostotas. Sub-

15 sternitur, inquam, per adinventiones hereticas legi Cristi

contrarias, ad quas sive fratres consulunt, sive fabricant

vel defendunt, agunt destruccionem illius ecclesie, cum

in puritate legis Cristi oportet ecclesiam quamcunque

stare. Ideo nulli magis iniuriuntur illi ecclesie quam

20 adulantes ypocritice, qui abscondunt ab ea errores in

lege domini et tradiciones anticristi foveant sibi et paliant.

Illi, inquam, sunt inimici domestici, medici fraudulenti,

et suffocantes proditorii, quod per vocem et aerem que

debent esse instrumenta comunicacionis caritative ho-

25 minum, strangulant superiores, non tactu manus, sed oleo

Apoc. adulacionis. Et ideo Cristus, cum illos *quos amat arguit*

III, 19 *et castigat*, destinavit sibi prophetas in lege veteri et

ewangelistas in nova, qui duplicitate subducta nuncient

populo suo scelera eorum. In istam igitur apostasiam

30 possibile est fratres incidere qui sint proditores adula-

I., torii curie Romane. 2^o contingit ipsos promovere ad

practicam legis inique, utputa impetrando indulgencias,

dispensaciones et alia privilegia blasphemiam sapiencia et

avariciam, que est servitus ydolorum. Practicam autem

35 istam lucrativam novit mundus fratres ex suggestionibus

mendacibus exercere; nec dubium quin illo supposito

fratres illi forent plus capitibus increpandi; quia pro-

ditorie excitantes, mendaciter procurantes et fallaciter

practisantes sunt plus culpandi eis quibus desunt iste

40 condiciones; sicut cinifes nocuerunt egipciis plus quam

rane. 3^o vero contingit fratres post professionem fieri papas,

attract, there must be an excess of power in that which attracts.

Comparison of the temporal lord with the steward of the Gospel: both the laity burdened with wheat and wine, and the clergy, laden with the oil of devotion, ought to be disburdened by him.

The Friars exalt the Roman Curia with craft and by flattery. They are all the more to blame, since they are thereby the ruin of that Church.

They should correct its defects instead of flattering it.

They urge upon it the promulgation of unjust laws, indulgences, dispensations, &c., as is well known.

Many of them become Popes or Cardinals themselves,

6. deficiet BC. 7. horea A. 8. fodere A. 9. mendi C.
18. quantumcunque omnes MSS. 23. quia A. 32. leges AB. 38. eciam
ero et B.

sharers in the worldly glory that surrounds it, and ready to excuse it in all things.

But they can only exalt the Roman See by obeying its laws.

Some of these deal with the behaviour of the regular clergy, some with ways of getting money, and some with the duties of a virtuous life.

They are certainly opposed to the first; as to the second, they are divided; and they keep silence as regards the third class.

Richard Fitz-Ralph points this out. He says:
1. The rule of St. Francis orders his

cardinales et avaricia turpissima illius curie irretitos, ex quorum exemplo cum suis complicitibus capitur audacia et excusacio in peccatis. Cum talibus itaque insigniis exaltant curiam, sicut diabolus, excitando ad mundi prospera, procurat eis mundi gloriam; non sic Cristus vel sui apostoli cum 5 matri filiorum Zebedei promisit in filiis passionis calicem.

Uterius, cum idem sit exaltare dictam curiam et eius leges proprias servare, videndum est quomodo fratres se habent ad observanciam harum legum. Pro quo notandum quod earum diversitas est trimembris: ut alique tangunt 10 conversacionem fratrum et possessionatorum, alique autem tangunt cleri questum; sed alique religiose tangunt ritum honestum. Exemplum prime est illud 6^{ti} decretalis. "Exiit qui seminat" et illud in elementinis. "Exivi de paradiso." Exemplum 2ⁱ est illud 5^{ti} decretal. "Omnis utriusque 15 sexus." Et illud 6^o de rescriptis. "Si duobus." Exemplum 3ⁱⁱ est illud de immunitate ecclesie, ca^o "Decet" in 6^o. Quantum ad primam maneriem, fratres manifeste repugnant; quantum ad 2^{am} differenter audiant; et quantum ad 3^{am} neutraliter obmutescunt. Quo ad primum scribitur 20 6^o decretalium "Exiit, qui seminat", quomodo religio fratrum et specialiter minorum consistit in observancia altissime paupertatis, et ab illa non licet cadere, sicut nulli licet a perfeccione incepta diminuendo recedere. Et istud intelligo de cunctis ordinibus. Omnes enim 25 debent ad perfeccionem fratrum minorum secundum suam possibilitatem aspirare, licet in ritibus varietur; oppositum tamen docet ocularis experientia.

Et declarat sanctus Ricardus episcopus Ardmacanus, in quodam sermone qui sic incipit: "Nemo vos seducat 30 inanibus verbis". Francisci inquit: "regula precipit fratribus ad hoc ydoneis laborare, et ipsos, vacante laboricio, statuit mendicare. Ex quo videtur quod mendicacio nulli

1. cinere A. 5. mundi gloriam *deest* A. 13. est *deest* A.
14. elementis A; *ib.* exiit *omnes MSS.* 15. 5^{ti} illud *deest* B; *ib.* decretal^m A.
25. intelligendo A. 31. ardinocag A. 32. vocacio A.

13. Sexti Decr., l. V, tit. 12, c. 3. 14. Decr. Clem., l. V, tit. 11, c. 1. 16. Decr. Greg., l. II, tit. 28, c. 7. 18. Sexti Decr., l. III, tit. 23, c. 2. 31. *Francisci*. Eight points are given here in which the Franciscans are said to depart from the rule of their Founder, according to Fitz-Ralph (See *De Apostasia*, p. 36, note) but I am not quite sure where the quotation ends. It may extend to the end of the chapter, with remarks from Wyclif interpolated here and there; we need not even suppose any such remarks to exist. Fitz-Ralph was a very determined opponent of the Mendicant Friars.

pertinet, nisi quando inculpabilis necessitas ad hoc cogit. Quomodo igitur excusantur mendicantes et ociantes validi, qui ultra necessitatem importune se ingerunt ad magis

M. egenos sophistice spoliandum?"

74^b 5 2^o regula | Francisci precipit quod verba regule non glosentur; et cum fratres laborant ut verborum sensus omnino tollantur, specialiter de litteris a sede apostolica non petendis: non dubium quin ista regula vel sit irrationabilis quoad hunc ordinem, vel eque alios ordines
10 racionabiliter obligaret. Et tamen falsarii scripture sacre cum fratribus dampnant ut hereticam deteccionem sensus doctorum qui videntur contradicere. Ut Jeronimus vere dicit quod fidelis non manducat secundum se vere corpus
15 Christi in sacramento altaris. Et Hylarius cum Hugone dicit quod corpus Christi est substancialiter, corporaliter et carnaliter ibidem, et per consequens taliter manducatur. Glossa concordans doctores stat in isto quod corpus Christi potest 2^r intelligi corporaliter esse alicubi: vel modo corporis, vel in quantum corpus. Et isto 2^o modo
20 proprie loquitur Jeronimus. Unde argumentum topicum est quod si quicquam damnatum sit ab istis maniciis sibi ipsi contrariis, tunc a *probabili* est evidencius catholicum.

3^o, regula Francisci precipit quod fratres non predicent in episcopatu alicuius episcopi, cum ab eo illis fuerit
25 contradictum. Et indubie eadem est ratio regule, supposita eius racionabilitate, de quolibet alio fratre. Et tamen e contra dicitur quod tam ipsi quam alii per falsas machinationes nituntur ut predicent invitis episcopis et curatis. Et tamen Franciscus dicit in suo tes-
30 tamento: "Dominus dat michi tantam fidem, ut sacerdotibus qui vivunt secundum formam romane ecclesie, propter eorum ordinem, si faciunt michi persecucionem, volo recurrere ad eos. Et si haberem tantam sapienciam, quantam Salomon habuit, et invenirem pauperculos sa-
35 cerdotes huius seculi qui in parochiis morantur, nolo predicare contra voluntatem eorum, sed ipsos omnes volo honorare ut dominos meos; et nolo in ipsis considerare

followers to beg only when they have no work to do, or can do none: there is no excuse for such begging as theirs.

2. St. Francis forbids that his rule should be glossed; which is either

unreasonable, or should be observed in every order.

Yet they do everything to elude a literal interpretation of the rule; while they condemn as heretical every explanation brought forward to reconcile the Fathers.

For instance when Jerome, Hilarius and Hugo seem to disagree as to the Sacrament. Whatever they condemn is likely to be the truth.

3. St. Francis forbids them to preach in any diocese without the Bishop's permission.

Yet they are said to intrigue in order to preach against the Bishop's or the curate's will.

This is the very reverse of humble St. Francis' spirit, as shown in his testament.

2. excusatur mendicitas A: excusantur mendicantes C. 6. glosent² A. 7. libris A: libris C. 8. nec dubium AC. 12. contradictorie contradicere A. 13. dicit deest A: ib. se in marg. C: ib. vere deest BC.

14. Hugonis A. 16. totaliter A. 17. glo^m A: ib. hoc C. 18. 19. vel modo corporis vel modo corporis in quantum corpus BC. 19. vel deest A: ib. inquam A. 21. damnatum deest A: dampnatum C: ib. inanimatis B: mañciū C. 25. eadem deest A. 30. det A. 32. ullo A. 34. pauperculos deest C.

According to the canons, the order of ecclesiastical dignity stands thus: Bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers, abbots and monks. The regular clergy are below the secular in honour; they have no power in the Church; they may not sit down in the presence of a Priest, who has the right to deliver them to Satan. That the same person should be a monk and a priest is often to the detriment of the priesthood; yet many, setting aside the duties of monastic life, have done good duty as priests.

peccatum. quia in ipsis filium dei discerno. et domini mei sunt". Idem autem iudicium est de fratribus quibuscunque. Et patet quod ordo cuiuscunque presbyteri est ordine monachi vel fratris superior. De ordine vero monastico patet (q. 3 dist. 'A subdiacono'); 'pontifici 5 presbyter, presbytero diaconus, diacono subdiaconus, subdiacono acolitus, acolito exorcista, exorciste lector, lectori hostiarius, hostiario abbas, abbati monachus in omni loco representat obsequium, sive in publico sive in gremio ecclesie'. Et patet ex hoc, quod (16 q. 1^a ca^o 'Generaliter') 10 monachi sunt laici. Et idem patet 16 q. 1^a ca^o. 'Alia causa' ubi sic dicitur: Alia causa monachi, alia clerici. Clerici oves pascunt, ego pascor; illi de altari vivunt; michi securis quasi ad radicem arboris infructuose ponitur, si munus ad altare non defero. Michi ante presbyterum 15 sedere non licet. Illi, si peccavero, licet me tradere sathane in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini. Et N. idem patet de inferioritate monachorum ad clericos in capitulo 'Legi' ex dictis Augustini et capitulo 'Ecclesiam habet'. Quod si contingit eandem personam esse mo- 20 nachum atque presbyterum, sepe monstruosa res est et statum presbyteratus inficiens. Unde eadem q. ca^o. 'Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monastica regula ordinate persistere: ut in ipso destructio monasterii teneat qui cottidie in ecclesiastico ministerio cogitur per- 25 manere'. Verumtamen infra, eadem q. 5^a ubi supra, patet quod tam monachus quam clericus potest ut sic habere diversa officia. Ideo multi sunt monachi qui laxaverunt officium monachale et multum profecerunt in sacerdotali officio.

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5. 9^a B. 6. decanus decano A. 6, 7. "p^{ri}b^{it}o diacono sub diacono, subdiacono acolitus C; *ib.* subdiacono *deest* A. 7. acolitus *deest* B. 9. ut obsequium A. 12. dicitur *deest* AB. 13. alterum clerici *deest* C. 11. arboris posita est, infructuose arboris ponitur A. 15. aut *pro* ante A: at = aut C. 16. cedere AC. 21. Destructio *deest* A; Destructio BC. 26. 5^a *deest* B; *ib.* ubi *deest* AB. 27. superiori omnes MSS. 27. sancti BC. 28. qui *deest* BC.

5. Decr. Grat. 1^a P., D. XCIII, c. 5. 10. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 40. 11. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 16. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 6. 25. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XVI, qu. 1, c. 2. The Canon runs thus: *Nemo potest ecclesiasticis obsequiis deservire, et in monachica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse monasterii distractionem teneat, qui cottidie in ministerio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere.*

- 4^o regula beati Francisci precipit ne fratres recipiant per se vel per alios denarios vel pecuniam ullo modo: et vix transit frater, ut dicitur, per villam aut patriam, quin ducat secum unum *Scarioth* pro denariis colligendis.
- 5 Idem autem morale in isto ritu debet a cunctis fratribus observari, cum sit manifesta symonia repugnans ewangelio Matth. X, quod propter predicacionem colligant pecuniam vel aliud temporale. Licet autem occasione predicacionis vite necessaria possent ipsis adici; tamen quod principaliter aut preponderanter predicent ewangelium propter ista, manifeste obviat legi Cristi.
- 5^o regula Francisci precipit quod nullus fratrum audeat populo predicare, nisi a ministro generali fuerit examinatus et eciam approbatus, et ab eo predicacionis officium sibi concessum. Et fratres, ut non examinentur a ministro, privilegium, ut dicitur, procurarunt. Et, quod peius est, non qui ad edificacionem ecclesie utilior, sed qui ad colligendum terrena calidior, aptabitur isti officio: in tantum quod dicitur quemcunque fratrem, non qui plus edificaverit, sed qui pro contratis plus offere voluerit de pecunia secte sue, quantumcunque | bono et sciollo prefertur. In tantum quod emunt et vendunt diabolo vitas simplicium, ac si ovem vel bovem pro pecunia mercarentur. Sic quod de illis verificatur prophetia apostoli Pe. 2^o *In avaricia fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur*. Unde quidam vocant tales sophistas et mercatores diaboli. Scola quidem sua graduat inferiores yppocritas, ut sophistas, callidiores prelatos, ut baccalaureos et doctores in sua heresi; ut magistros suorum omnium magisterium architectonicum vendicet anticristus.
- 6^o regula sancti Francisci precipit quod fratres non ingrediantur monasteria monacharum, non claustra, non domos, nec officinas interiores: cum maior sit ratio ut talis non maneat solus cum sola, eciam gracia confitendi, quam est generalis ratio prohibitionis de cohabitatione clerici et mulieris; que licet prohibetur in lege papali, tamen fratres multipliciter practisant oppositum, cum ex privilegiis inpetratis multis dolosis comitivis comunicant. Sic quod de illis verificatur propheta apostoli 2^a Thymo., III, 6 3^o quod *penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas; cum non solum tractant cum mulieribus in conclavi, quia*

4. St. Francis forbids them to receive money: yet his followers have a man with them to collect money wherever they go! This is evidently an abuse.

5. According to the rule, they cannot preach without first being examined by the Minister general and duly appointed: now, it seems, they have obtained a dispensation from the Minister. Nay, worse, they send out to preach, not the best Friar, but him that offers to bring back the most money. They form a school of heresy of which Antichrist is the head.

6. St. Francis forbids them to enter convents, cloisters or houses: it being more improper for a Friar than for a secular priest to be alone with a woman; which is not allowed, even for the purpose of confession. Yet the Friars do not obey

13. populo *deest* C. 10. quomodocumque A. 22. preferetur BC 28. et *pro* ut B. 33. officias A; *ib.* quod *pro* ut A. 35. comuni *pro* quam A.

this rule, but enter houses by means of permissions obtained, and *take women captive*: which ought to be understood in the sense that they tempt weak-minded persons, and get authority over them to lead them astray.

7. St Francis commands that holy poverty should be observed in everything; the Friars do just the reverse. For this there is no excuse; instead of preaching poverty by their example, they move men to delight in their worldly splendour. Thus they rob the poor in detail of large sums; which differs from plundering an individual only in so far as it is worse. If they love the Gospel doctrine of sharing with the poor, let them give to those that need: St. Martin wanted his cloak more than they their possessions.

in locis abditis non vocati se ingerunt, sed, ut fertur, mulierculas ducunt per patrias in forma fratrum. Et quod plus credo esse de sensu apostoli, captivant sensus debilium. Constat quidem ex sensu quem Augustinus imponit scripture Gen. de temptatione viri et femine per 5 serpentem, quod conformis est forma temptationis cuiuscunque persone peccantis, cum excitans extrinsecus sit quasi diabolus; sensualitas vero, ut femina; et ratio, ut vir. Fratres autem gerentes vicem diaboli temptant infirmos in fide, ut feminas, et freno infidelitatis ducunt 10 captivas per devium.

7^o regula Francisci precipit quod in actibus fratrum semper paupertas sancta reluceat; et fratres laborant ut in eorum ecclesiis, claustris, domibus, ornamentis et libris, magnitudo et decor et diviciarum effectus resplendeat. 15 Paliacio autem huius facti alibi destruitur. Ideo non restat causa eius, nisi forte quia fratres tenentur ad observanciam religionis Christi predicare in verbis et opere populo paupertatem; sed visitantes loca fratrum tanquam spectacula moventur multipliciter delectari in mundi gloria et 20 irreligiose ad similia aspirare. Et in tantum vulgares ad edificandum tales libros diaboli spoliuntur; et, sicut etici sunt ex cautela diaboli insensibiliter inaniti. Nil enim refert colligere tales minucias de plebe paupere et totum simul de una persona simplici spoliare, nisi quod fraus 25 yppocrisis est undique maior, persona plebis iniuriata est egencior, et fraus subtraccionis iuvaminis ad servandam religionem ecclesie est venenosior. Totum igitur 30 corporale dampnum istius rapine sacrilege redundat sensibilius in pauperes populares. Sed si fratres tantum appreciantur imparticionem ewangelicam elemosine, debent supersedere a talibus sumptuosis et irreligiosis apparatus, distribuendo bona pauperum que fraudulenter spoliaverunt pauperibus, cecis, claudis et debilibus, satisfaciendo pro iniuste ablatis et cavendo de iniuriis perpetrandis. Non 35 enim tantum egent fratres sumptibus istis superfluis, sicut indiguit Martinus, miles gloriosus religiosus, clamide qua in aura gelida sub forma pauperis induit salvatorem.

1. esse *deest* C. 3. consensu B. 12. Septima C. 13. laborent C.
31. iterum vulgares C. 21. ethnici A; ethici C. 23. insensibiliter
deest A; *ib.* vel; *in marg.* nichil C. 27. invaminibus A. 30. se-
culares ac *acafter* pauperes C. 37. Martinus *deest* B; *ib.* gloriosus
deest BC; *ib.* quam A.

16. *Alibi*. If this is not a quotation, Wyclif alludes to some words in the preceding chapter; also to *De Apostasia*, p. 32.

8^o regula beati Francisci declarata in Clementinis, ca^o 8. The Rule incorporated in Canon Law forbids Franciscans to wear a habit of stuff considered costly where they live, to interfere in secular affairs, to build churches of excessive size, or to possess any object of price. Let the world judge how they keep these rules. They obey Papal laws only when they are exalted thereby: those which bind them down to their duties are made of no account. In England stuffs of white or russet hue are prized even by the king: yet they wear them, and pay dear enough: their religion does not show itself in scantiness of garment. The cheapness makes chiefly for poverty, and this, like Pharisees, they neglect. As for poverty in their churches &c. they take good care to avoid it. It is probable that their churches and churchyards lie

1. Octava C. 2. Exivit C. 5. testarum A. 8. excessivam A: excessum BC. 15. vel *pro* et *before* ultra C. 16. illis *deest* C. 18. et parvipendunt A. 23. ruseti A. 25. pannos *deest* B. 26. similitudinis B: *ib.* non *omnes* MSS. 38. certo BC.

5 non misceant se executionibus testamentorum et dispensacionibus bonorum: quod non faciant aut fieri sustineant ecclesias vel alia quecunque edificia que, considerato fratrum inhabitantium numero, excessiva in multitudine et magnitudine debeant reputari, sed temperatis et humilibus edificiis sint contenti; nec habere debent apparamenta vel preciosa vasa non conveniencia statui paupertatis. Et eadem indubie est causa vel ratio de quibuscunque fratribus. Sed iudicet mundus si faciunt contrarie isti legi. Et patet quomodo leges papales fratres magnificant et extollunt, ut ewangelium et ultra, dum fastum vel questum illis sapiunt; sed leges alias que ad religionem suam astringunt vel sensum scripture sentenciant, parvipendunt. Judicet, rogo, ecclesia quomodo observant hanc legem, quam papa precipit: 'Exivit de paradiso.' Nam quantum ad primum preceptum videtur quod fratres non utuntur pannis qui iuxta consuetudinem patrie viles debeant reputari; cum in Anglia panni albi nigri et russeti sunt apud regem et dominos plurimum preciiati. Et quantum ad valorem, dicitur quod fratres emunt huiusmodi pannos satis caros. Et quantum ad formam amplitudinis indumenti, patet quod non reluct nimis magna religiositas in vestium paritate. Sed utinam plus appreciarentur colorem quam valorem qui religiosus foret amplius ponderandus! Sed quis tunc gereret vicem phariseorum, qui colant culicem et degluciant camelum ut dicitur Matth. 23. Quantum ad secundum preceptum pape, quod non intromittant se de distribucionibus bonorum mortui testatoris, dicitur quod faciunt et procurant illicitis viis oppositum. Quantum ad 3^m preceptum pape, quod non excedant in edificiis vel ornamentis limites altissime paupertatis, mundus clamat quod studiose faciunt oppositum. Et sic de lege pape libro 6^o de sepulturis, ca^o, "Animarum periculis": ubi suo stricto modo pena

1. Octava C. 2. Exivit C. 5. testarum A. 8. excessivam A: excessum BC. 15. vel *pro* et *before* ultra C. 16. illis *deest* C. 18. et parvipendunt A. 23. ruseti A. 25. pannos *deest* B. 26. similitudinis B: *ib.* non *omnes* MSS. 38. certo BC.

26. *Amplitudinis*. See Engl. Works of W. p. 306. 33. Sexti Decr. I. III, tit. 12, c. 1. 38. Sexti. Decr. III. tit. 52. c. 1.

under the
interdict uttered
against Friars
who induce
men to have
their tombs
placed there.

It is therefore
certain that no
one should
choose to be
buried amongst
them.

Every Church
law that favours
their interest
and ambition is
respected by
them, while
the others are
set aside.

interdicti tam ecclesie quam cimiterii, infligitur quibus-
cunque religiosi qui inducunt aliquos ad fovendum,
iurandum, seu fide interposita vel alias promittendum,
ut apud eorum ecclesias eligunt sepulturam vel iam elec- 5
tam ulterius non immutent. Et tamen probabiliter creditur
ab expertis quod fratres multipliciter inducunt aliorum
parochianos ut apud eorum loco eligant sepulturas; vel
oportet negare decretalem pape, vel quod loca eorum
subiaceant ecclesiastico interdicto. Et per consequens ex
lege papali de sententia excommunicationis in 6^o, incur- 10
rerent irregularitatem et excommunicationem in ibi ce-
lebrando. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium quin nemo, nisi
seductus mendaciis, eligeret sepeliri in talibus locis talium
personarum. Sic igitur illas leges hominum, de quanto
lucrum vel fastum sapiunt, supra legem Cristi magnificant 15
in effectum; ut patet de illa lege 5^o decretalium "Omnis
utriusque sexus", de quanto inducit eis confitendos, qui
ipsis lucrificant. Et vel procurant decretales aut earum
interpretaciones vel glossas fieri; ut videtur de illa lege
in Clementinis de sepulturis dudum; sic de legibus sa- 20
pientibus fidem de corpore Cristi et aliis fidei articulis,
de quanto cedunt ad laudem sui nominis, licet non
fundentur in rationibus vel scriptura. Alia autem decreta
sanctorum, ex quibus instrueretur ad magnam eius edi-
ficacionem ecclesia, parvipendunt. 25

10. dicto *pro lege* C; *ib.* excommunicat ut incurrerent C; *ib.* *before*
in a gap A. 20. decorem A. 25. ecclesiam B; etiam C.

CAPITULUM SEXTUMDECIMUM.

A. Quantum ad simulacionem fratrum et quorumcunque
 possessionatorem privati ordinis religioni simplici cri-
 stiane, videtur tam prelatos quam ipsos religiosos debere
 5 laborare ad istam similitudinem acquirendam. Possi-
 bilitas vero eius patet de pape potestate, tacta 1^o ca^o.
 Ideo non dubium [quod] quicumque negaverit papam hoc
 posse facere, debet consequenter negare leges et ordina-
 ciones ecclesie ut blasfemas. Si enim papa habet potestatem
 10 statuendi et confirmandi istos ordines, habet potestatem
 ex emergenti causa rationabili iterum dissolvendi. Sed
 primum concederet tam papa quam fratres. Ideo secun-
 dum oportet eos concedere consequenter. Sic enim cass-
 avit papa de facto multos ordines; nec est ratio quare
 15 non istos posset dissolvere.

Item, omnis ordinacio ecclesie edificatoria, que non
 est deo propria, subiacet potestati pape; sed talis or-
 dinacio foret ad edificacionem ecclesie, et deus potest
 communicare illam homini: ergo pape. Non enim est
 20 lex adinventata a fratribus forci^{or} quam ordinacio in qua
 Cristus instituit suam ecclesiam; sed illam cassavit papa,
 ut patet de dotacione ecclesie. Unde glosa ordinaria de-
 cretorum 25 q. 1^a: "Sunt quidam", dicit "quod papa
 nedum dispensat contra apostolum, sed eciam contra
 25 deum"; igitur papa potest evidencius in hoc minus.

Item, papa dispensat cottidie cum doctoribus et
 pocioribus de ordine fratrum, ut sint secreti capellani
 sui, et sic exonerentur ab omni tradicionem privata preter
 habitum corporalem. Cum igitur hoc sit maxime alienum
 30 ab ordine, nec potencia pape terminatur ad maximum

Friars, Bishops,
and the Pope
himself ought
to labour to
to restore
Christ's pure
religion; and
the latter has
the power do
it, unless
Church laws
are all
blasphemies.
What he can
make, that he
can unmake;
and in fact,
popes have
dissolved many
orders: why
not these?

Again, all
Church
ordinances that
are not God's
peculiar right,
depend on the
power of the
Pope: such
would be this
ordinance.
Since the Pope
abolished
Christ's
primitive
institution, he
can restore it
again.
Again, the Pope
grants
dispenses to
some Friars
not to follow
their
observance: he
can therefore
do so for all,

1. Cap. 16 in red ink. 2. Initial Q in red ink; ib. quorumcunque C.
 7. quod deest omnes MSS. 11. ro¹¹ = rationali A: ro^v. (sic) C.
 13, 14. cessavit AB. 27. secreta B. 29. fit A.

23. Decr. Grat. 2^a P., C^a XXV, qu. 1, c. 6.

there being no limit as to their number. He might give dispensations to some, all the others dying suddenly; and the former might take another habit: the order would exist no longer.

There would be no apostasy in this case: a Papal dispensation would set all things right. That their possessions would return to the Pope at their death is a venal objection, unworthy of religious men.

This being possible, it is clear that the new Order, 1. as more like primitive Christianity,

2. as giving more freedom to each member,

and 3. as being the object of a dispensation, and necessarily for the better, would be preferable to the old ones.

To bring about this change is a duty: 1. on the part of the Pope. His chief function is to edify the Church, and this great edification would be so

numerum partis ordinum, non ad totum, videtur quod cum toto dispensare potest conformiter. Nam possibile foret, papa dispensante cum viginti de uno ordine, totum residuum morte vel alio casu deficere. Ymmo, possibile foret ipsos fratres consimilis libertatis induere, et sic 5 ordinem novum excrescere; plus enim extraneant, salvato nomine eiusdem ordinis, quam facerent fratres taliter procreati. Nec valet dicere quod omnes tales forent apostate; quia fratres religiose communicant cum talibus exentis in habitacionibus et in mensis. Cum igitur sepe 10 multipliciter occidunt alios, ut dicitur, pro levi apostasia, sequitur ex facto quod non reputant | tales apostotas, 76^a Licet igitur illis cum dispensacione pape obedienciam talem dimittere, nec sapit tantam religionem, quod ipsis mortuis papa habeat omnia bona sua, quin deleta illa 15 symoniaca venalitate ordo fratrum factus noviter servet totum residuum libertatis. Non enim habet tantam vim condicio illa symoniaca, quin, illa deleta, posset stare residua religio depravata.

Supposita igitur possibilitate talis ordinis ex dispen- 20 B. sacione pape, et cassata obligacione ad detestacionem illam symonaciam et induicionem habitus corporalis, patet quod talis religio foret perfeccior. Primo quia foret similior religioni simplici cristiane. Et illa, ex sepe dictis, est perfeccior quacunque religione privata. 2^o, quia talis 25 religiosus foret ad perficiendum mandata Cristi et consilia liberior, cum in privatis ordinibus habet multa inpedimenta, que ab execucione istorum culpabiliter difficultant. Et 3^o, quia, ut oportet fratres confiteri ut fidem, illa dispensacio pape est licita; sed non foret dispensacio, 30 sed religionis Cristi dissipacio, nisi foret ad melius. Ideo oportet ipsos concedere quod melius esset eis pro salute anime sic privilegiari, quam in priori ordine residere. Istis suppositis, probatur via triplici quod debent redire ad religionem simplicem cristianam. Et primo ex 35 parte pape. Ipse enim debet precipue sollicitari circa edificacionem ecclesie, conformiter legi Cristi, cum hoc sit capitale eius officium, ad quod strictissime obligatur; sed foret ad maiorem edificacionem ecclesie quod omnes

11. proximo de *pro* pro levi apostata A. 14, 15. ipsis mortuis A; episcopis B. 15. qu = quando. 19. depravata AB. 23. quod *deest* AC; *ib.* perfeccior — foret *deest* C. 25. quid C. 26. et consilia *deest* C. 29. quod illa A. 31. quia A.

cristiani militarent secundum unam religionem simplicem cristianam; igitur, cum hoc foret pape tam facile, videtur quod sub pena omissionis dampnabilis hoc debet facere. Quam, rogo, rationem deo redderet ex tanta accidia?

easy for him, that his not achieving it would be inexcusable.

5 2^o videtur ex parte fratrum quod procurarent illud sollicite. Nam, secundum Jeronimum, non mediocriter peccat qui postposito magis bono eligit minus bonum. Sed fratres debent scire quod talis exempcio foret eis utilior; igitur ad hoc debent precipue laborare. Confir-

2. On the part of the Friars themselves; they ought to know that such a change is for their good.

10 matur ex hoc quod nedum est licitum, sed in casu debitum, relinquere religionem antiquam, et religionem fratrum propter suam perfeccionem intrare. Evidencius igitur debent fratres tradiciones suas imperfectas deserere et quietari in perfeccione simplici cristiana. Si enim papa

They admit that if the Pope gave them all a dispensation it would be a good thing; but the motive of that dispensation now exists, and even in spite of the Pope they ought to act upon it.

15 generaliter de possibili sic dispensaret, tunc foret utilius, ut fatentur: sed prius, antequam papa dispensat, est ratio apud deum. Ergo, licet papa non dispenset, remanet eque bonum. Et ista negligencia videtur fratres tenere continue, dum pausant in tali privato proposito. Nec

20 foret declinacio ab illo peccato eis difficilis, cum sciunt quod deus dispensat, eciam papa culpabiliter renitente, ut patet ex dictis. Quomodo igitur excusantur, qui in vacuum gratiam dei ita recipiunt? Deus enim dispensat cum illis, et tamen in stulticia culpabili convolvuntur.

25 Nec movet quod subtiles eorum perseverant in isto proposito; quia diaboli subtiliores, indurati in sua malicia, permanent in sua stulticia, ubi faciliter possent converti ad Christum habendo misericordiam, gratiam, et gloriam

That no influential members leave their orders, is due to their inveterate malice

C. citissime, si non obstaret sua veterata malicia. Unde
30 omnes declinantes a lege Christi sapiunt ut sic stulticiam diaboli, in cuius inveteracione cadit periculum.

3^o videtur quod populus debet cogere fratres stulticiam istam dimittere, quia secte tales ipsos multipliciter dampnificant; quod debent tollere. Dampnificant, inquam,

35 consumendo indebite bona reipublice, ut patet in cibariis, in domibus et in aliis ornamentis. Istud autem foret facile regem et regnum tollere subtrahendo, ut tactum est in fine De apostasia, quodcunque temporale suffragium quod redundaret illis in quantum talis ordinis. Staret enim
40 cum hoc communicare illis elemosinas in Christo in quantum

3. On the part of the people; because they eat up the property of the common wealth. It would be easy to put an end to them by cutting off supplies to the Order, which might be continued to

1. accidia A. 10. ex hoc *deest* AB. 12. perfeccionem *deest* C.
11. perfecciori religione BC. 16. quod *pro* sed A. 16, 17. est
dispenset *deest* A. 17. igitur C. 21. renittente A. 23. ita *deest* A.
34. dent C. 36. in *before* aliis *deest* C. 36. et *pro* quod B.

them as private persons; and if any of them was more fit than a Church dignitary, he ought to take his place.

Besides, they do great harm by sowing lies, and opposing the efforts of those who would bring men back to Christ.

There would be then, it is objected, no more scholastic degrees in universities, nor science of Scripture, nor good preaching. University degrees have indeed their uses, but are not founded on Holy Writ, and occasion many evils: v. g. election intrigues, simoniacal conspiracies, and spoliation of the people.

Friars of a meaner rank know too well how much they are despised by those of a higher degree: there is no Scripture warrant for this.

individua cristiana, ubique meritorius quam sit modo. Unde videtur mihi inprecandum quod quicumque frater habilior ad regendum ecclesiam quam dictus incumbens, sit, ipso expulso, in eius nomine subrogatus. Sed, quod magis moveret ad istam practicam, secte nimis spisse 5 blasphemant in deum, seminantes mendacia; et per consequens nedum subtrahunt a populo spirituale suffragium, sed venenando rempublicam agravant peccatum. Nam proposito puncto ut populus vivat conformiter legi Cristi, fratres in facie apponent obicem, foventes partem anti- 10 cristi, preter privata mala que seminant. Nec dubium quin castigati per prepositos vel prudentem subtractionem temporalium a venenacione ista desisterent, et plebem in qua consistit maior cristiana religio, dimissis exhortacionibus | cum ludicriis, adaugerent. Et sic 15 76^b undique dei populus, et per consequens honor dei cum bono reipublice augeretur. Itaque omnis homo staret pro suavi et levi observancia legis dei, cum turpe foret, sumptuosum et difficile, fovere discipulos anticristi.

Sed 2^o obicitur quod facta confusione ordinum, perirent 20 gradus scolastici et per consequens subtilis expositio scripture et recta predicacio verbi dei. Sed quo ad istud videtur D. quod de religione Cristi non foret 2^m tradiciones studiorum aliquis doctor scolasticus inter fratres. Immo, licet talis graduacio in universitatibus prosit per accidens, videtur 25 michi quod religiosum foret per totum cristianismum leges talis graduacionis tolli, quia non sunt fundabiles in scriptura; sed occasione data, ex graduacione tali inter fratres veniunt multa mala. Ut, racione eleccionis ad cathedram, currunt ad intra multe consideraciones et ope- 30 raciones illiciti; et tam ad intra quam ad extra multe conspiraciones symoniace, et multe tradiciones primevi ordinis destructive. Et cum totus iste processus sit sumptuosus, non superest, nisi quod ista spoliacio sumptuum redundat in populum. 35

Quantum ad primum noverunt fideles fratres, pauperes et abiecti, quantum a suis fratribus superioribus contempnuntur, et quanta servitute irrationabili deprimuntur. Nec dubium quin non sit fundabile in scriptura, in qua est omnis veritas, nisi (ut loquar ironice) in aliquo istorum 40 trium locorum. Primo in dicto beati Jacobi primo ca^o

3. hūilior hūilior A; humilior C. 6. mēdaciā A. 8. venando AC; *ib.* Non A. 12. castiganti omnes MSS; *ib.* per in marg. suppl. C. 24. alia A. 27. tales B.

- de personarum acceptione. *Nolite, inquit, in personarum acceptione habere fidem domini glorie. Cum enim introierit vir in conventum vestrum, annulum habens aureum in* St James blames all preference given to a man on account of his riches:
- 1ac. 11., *veste candida; introierit autem pauper in sordido habitu: et intendatis in eum qui indutus est veste preclara, et dixeritis ei: tu sede hic bene; pauperi autem dicatis: tu sta illic, aut sede sub scabello pedum meorum: Nonne iudicatis apud vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitationum iniquarum iudices?* Idem autem et evidencius est iudicium de fratre
- 1—5 *ratione graduacionis a suis confratribus honorificandus; quia ita alienum est a lege Cristi, quod frater propter talem graduacionem honorem talem suscipiat, sicut foret propter splendenciam ornamenti. Nam nec infert alcioritatem status in quo Cristus statuebat ecclesiam, nec*
- 15 *preeminenciam virtutis: et solum ratione istorum duorum videtur regem celorum velle hominem honorari. Nam sepe contingit fratrem sic graduatum fratre simplici magis deficere tam sciencia quam virtute.*
- Talis autem honoracio fundatur in scriptura secundum
- 20 *gradus latitudinis, ut rex ratione status est excellencius gradus honorandus. Iuxta illud 2 Petr. 2^o Regem honorificate,*
1. Pet. 11, 17 *et alii in suis gradibus honoris mundani, ut sunt alciores arbores vel minus alte. Clerus autem debet gradatim in virtutibus, secundum modum alium, venerari: ut ille qui*
- 25 *debet reputari sancior, debet reputative amplius venerari. Sed honor dandus clericis non debet stare in mundi gloria, sed in honore dei secundum excellenciam virtutis vel status quem deus in ipso instituit; et tantum honorat quilibet alium in effectu, quantum iuvat deum*
- 30 *et promovet rationem in illo homine, 2^m quam taliter honoratur. Ut ille qui iuvat presbiterum in causa dei ut vivat secundum institutionem Cristi conformiter, et causam illam in ipso promovet vel defendit, ipse honorat illum presbiterum. Et faciendo oppositum inhonorat;*
- but preference given on account of a degree is quite as unchristian. It neither proves a higher degree of ecclesiastical perfection nor of virtue: a Friar without a degree may both know more and be a better man than a graduate. Honour is of two distinct kinds: one is, according to Scripture, to be paid to the king and temporal dignitaries according to their position: the other is spiritual veneration, to be given according as the state of any person implies holiness; and this second kind is shown by helping that person to attain the holiness of his state.

1, 2. Nolite — acceptione *deest* B. 2. domini nostri B. 3. annulum A. 5. inductus B. 7. illuc BC; *ib.* nostrorum A. 13, 14. alterioritatem A. 17. graduatim AB. 21. *pro* iuxta illud C; *ib.* honorate A. 31, 32. qui — secundum *deest* B.

20. *Latitudinis. Altitudinis* naturally suggests itself as a correction of the MSS. I am, however, not quite sure, notwithstanding 'alciores' on l. 22, that it ought to be adopted. Wyclif employs the word *latitudo* regularly in *Logica* to indicate a certain intensity of a quality; and its use here seems quite as technical as in that work. *Gradus latitudinis* is quite a common expression with him there.

Thus, aiding a priest to live according to Christ's institution, we honour him, and we dishonour him when we exalt or enrich him. Mundane glory is the ruin of Christ's religion: it is that acception of persons condemned by St. James, exemplified in worldly bishops, in graduated Friars, and in seculars, when honoured according to their outward show. A Bishop of the present day would be far above St. Peter: a vicious and stupid Friar, it would be more honourable than one not graduated and a minstrel, a fool or a prodigal, more than his king. These are blasphemies: for by ascribing honour to whom honour is not due, we imply that God gives honour likewise.

ut dando sacerdotibus honores mundanos in ditacione stercorum temporalium, homo non honoraret sed inhonoraret eos. Ideo, cum Cristiana religio infirmatur. E. per declinacionem ad mundum, patet quod ipsam dirrumpit potissime acceptacio personarum; ut, quia 5 mundus afficitur ad terrena et honores naturaliter affectat, inordinatus amor honoris vel temporalium secundum fastum et questum dirrumpit religionem Cristi. Et illa est personarum accepccio, quam contempnat beatus Jacobus; et sic generaliter, quando sacerdos 10 comendatur eo amplius quo habet maiorem adiacenciam temporalium, ut patet de prelatis cesareis; vel proportionaliter ut ritus mundani ipsum magis dignificant quoad mundum, ut contingit de fratre et alio presbitero pilliato: ymo honorando secularem ut habet magis 15 splendida ornamenta. Nam iuxta primam stulticiam unus de episcopis nostris foret infinitum honoracior sancto Petro, cum ipse dicit Act. 3^o *Argentum et aurum non est michi*, iuxta 2^{am} stulticiam frater ydiota quantumcunque viciosus pilliatus foret quantumcunque hono- 20 racior fratre scienciori et virtuosiori non taliter graduato. Et iuxta 3^{am} stulticiam unus ministrallus stultus vel prodigus foret honoracior rege suo.

Omnes autem istas blasphemias 2^m beatum Jacobum inducit personarum accepccio. Et dico blasphemias, quia 25 iuxta fidem quilibet debet honorare hominem proportionaliter ut deus ipsum honorat. Acceptor igitur | personarum, qui in ista honorificencia a deo discrepat, 77^a inponit deo implicite stultam veneracionem consimilem, quod est blasfemia. Ideo signanter, propter iudicium 30 proprium a deo discrepans, dicit beatus Jacobus: *Nomme iudicatis apud vosmetipsos et facti estis cogitacionum iniquarum iudices?* Omnes enim tales habent proprium iudicium; quod, quia discrepat a prima iusticia, est iniquum.

Consider a graduated Friar: he gets his degree by a Papal bull, or letters of

Pensemus igitur fructum fratris pilliati. Nam eo ipso 35 quo per bullas pape, quo per literas dominorum vel mediaciones dominarum, vel 3^o si symoniace emerit

2, 3. hō on'ariz et A; horaret / inhōariz. 3. declinacionem C.
 7. affectant A. 10. quia A. 11. ad maiorem B. 13. humani C.
 15. pilliato A. 18. 3^o deest; blank space B. 20. pilatus A.
 19. scienciore C; ib. virtuosiore C. 21. homo A. 25. blasfema A.
 31. notentur hic fructus fratris pilliati in marg. B. 30. ad pro per
 before bullas. 36, 37. vel — vel deest A; dominorum omnes MSS.

37. The MSS. have *dominorum*. See, to justify the correction, Eng. Works of W. p. 246.

gracias a perversis in universitatibus, sic quod quantumcunque inhabilis doctoretur, vendicat infinitum excellenciorum honorem quam frater suus, licet habilior, ex eorum decreto nunquam ad cathedram graduandus; 5 habebit enim cameram sibi perpetuatam, cappellanum et famulum, splendidiusque et laucius ministerium. Sed a labore predicationis, a sureccione ad matutinas in medio noctis, et a quocunque quod sonat in obedienciam et meritum in fratre simplici, est exemptus. Quod si 10 raro aliquod opus bonum fecerit, hoc sonabit ad sui gloriam; et tum magnificabitur a suis complicitibus; quod propter adulacionem mendacem esset utique melius quod F. taceret. Nec mirum de multiplicacione mendacii, quia dicunt quod in obediencia et ritibus sui ordinis stat 15 maius meritum quam in nostro ordine: et tamen dicunt in praxi quod summa perfeccio sui ordinis foret graduatum ad exempcionem a tali perfeccione sollicite laborare! Ideo homines non credunt eis in isto, cum vita, cui animus afficitur, contradicit. Religiosum igitur foret quod 20 pilliacionem illam falsam in singulis dimitterent; sic enim fecerunt in sui exordio, quando religio in eis plus floruit.

Et sic tolleretur ab eis blasfema elemosinarum particio. Nam regula caritatis exigit quod dividatur singulis, pro ut cuique opus erat, cum aliter foret invida personarum accepcio; hoc autem sonat blasfemia, cum, ut sic, 25 Esth. intenditur impugnare divinum iudicium. Et tamen Hester VI, 9 dicitur: *Sic honorabitur quam rex voluerit honorare*; quod est maxime proprium regi regum. Que igitur est ratio quare fratres eiusdem ordinis in sacerdocio, sanctitate 30 et sciencia quo ad necessaria salubri dei ministerio, preponuntur? Non dubium quin pater mendacii docuit istam differenciam secundum adinvenciones politicas. Et in talibus blasfemis personarum accepcionibus necesse est tales conventiculares cum ceteris nequiciis irretiri. 35 Si igitur omnes dicte secte vel nimis numerosi 2^m hoc 3^x devium, quo pilliatio fratri acquiritur, pilliati forent, quam monstruosa foret talis religio, quia gravarent in expensis rempublicam! Nunquam inter fratres foret distribucio, et omnino intra eos foret contencio *quis eorum videretur esse maior*. Iste igitur fructus est ordinum privatorum.

recommenda-
tion from some
lord,
or by means of
a bribe;
and he is
treated
infinitely better
than a
non-graduate;
he has a room
and servants of
his own, and
everything on a
better footing;
he is exempted
from preaching,
from the Choir,
and from all
acts of
obedience.
Here is a lie:
they say that
obedience
renders their
Order more
meritorious
than ours; yet
the supreme
perfection of
their state is to
be exempted
from
obedience!
They ought to
give up such
practices and
live as they did
at first.
By this means
the alms which
they receive
would be
shared equally.
Each ought to
receive
according as he
requires: i. e.
according to
God's will.
Why should
one Friar be
worse off than
another, if he
is his equal in
everything?
Suppose that
every member
of each of the
orders was
graduated:
what a
monstrous
community they
would make!

2. fruſu (sic) A. 3. humilior A. 6. quia pro que A. 11. cum A.
tantum C. 20. pilliacionem C; ibi, signis AC. 21. invidia A.
25. accepcione A. 26. tam A; cum C. 28. est deest AC. 35. de A.

Again, Christ forbade His disciples to call each other Rabbi; and these men, bound to follow Christ so closely, despise His words, waste for their degrees large sums that belong to the poor, and abandon that very perfection to which they are bound.

Their General, contrary to Christ's commands, domineers over them; spiderlike, he weaves a net through which camels (graduates) pass, and in which gnats are taken.

If a Friar offends, nay, sometimes if he observes God's law, he is imprisoned till he writes down a retraction and becomes the slave of the devil. These cobwebs catch simple and weak-minded men.

Secundum fundamentum ad tollendum talem graduationem in fratribus est illud Matth. 23^o, ubi Christus precipit quod non vocentur *rabi* vel *patres*, ut excellencia dei reverencius inprimatur, et ut superba dissensionis occasio excludatur. Quomodo igitur qui tam alte obligatur ad Cristi consilia tam frontose et tam laboriose contempnit vel sophisticat eius verba? Non dubium quin inanis gloria et contemptus domini sint in causa. Nam non solum in incepcone sua incurrit periurium, consumendo de spoliacionibus pauperum ultra tria milia turonensium grossorum; sed, ut sic, pilliatus inhabilitat se ipsum ad observandum perfeccionem ordinis cui stulte obligatus est, et ut sit herba venenosa in agro domine sancte matris ecclesie multipliciter infectiva.

3^m autem fundamentum contra istam superinductam blasphemiam est dictum Cristi Luce 22^o; *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, et qui potestatem habent super eos benefici vocantur. Vos autem non sic*. Et tamen dicitur quod nimis dominative et nimis potestative capitaneus fratrum imperat suis fratribus; et tanquam aranea pausans in angulo, orditur telas diaboli quibus illaqueat fratres suos, ut quod frater suus dire incarceretur pro culice, ymmo quandoque pro observancia legis dei, et graduetur pro inglucione cameli. Et incarceratus per mendosum scandalum fratris sui non exibat carcerem antequam manu propria scripserit mendaciter scandalum false sibi inpositum, accusando se ipsum et excusando diabolum; ac ulterius obligando se quod nunquam ulterius in hoc invehet contra ipsum; et sic detestando causam Cristi devenit simpliciter servus diaboli. Tales dicuntur multe tele ex interioribus diaboli subtilitate pedum membrorum suorum contexti cottidie, cum quibus fratres simplices et debiles tanquam bestiole capiuntur.

5. accio A. 5. 6. obligantur omnes MSS. 6. fructuose AC.
9. periurinus A. 11. sic pro sed omnes MSS. 13. domini omnes MSS.
10. 12 B. 10. arent A. 21. celatur A; ib. illaqueet C. 32. continue C.
33. bestiole deest C.

10. In *munimenta Academica* (Anstey) we find an Austin Friar paying £ 10 as a composition, instead of feasting the Regent Masters on his inception. P. 564. 30. I cannot thinking help that there is here an allusion to some Friar, whose Wycliffian tendencies were severely put down. This would give more colour to my hypothesis (*De Apostasia*, Introduction) that Wyclif had many partisans among the Friars; the whole of the chapter, read in this light, has particular meaning.

Et ille tradiciones inique sunt ut ewangelium observate. Confundantur itaque venena talia privatorum ordinum, ut deus debet nobis gratiam tenendi bonum graduacionum
 77^b quas stulte suscepimus | et cavendi malum culpecomixtum.

5 Et patet quod non ex hinc perirent scola Cristi, sensus scripture vel fructuosa predicacio verbi dei, cum summe floruerant ante ista. Ynimo videtur quod evidencius quam civile dominium privata religio sapit peccatum; et per consequens non supra religionem Cristi foret suum
 10 ewangelium, vel vita apostolica per talem adinventionem culpabilem deturpandum; ipsam enim privatam religionem necessario consequitur personarum accepcio, ad observanciam consiliorum Cristi difficultacio, et tradicionum infundabilium oneracio. Sed 3^o principaliter notandum
 15 est quod a tempore quo fratres adulterati fuerant verbum dei, pullularunt hereses, sophismata scripture, germinaverunt yppocrises per multiplicata mendacia, et prevaluerunt diffidencie et dissensiones per sectas novellas, antiqua religione sopita.

20 Ut nunc invaluit quedam secta maniaca, cancellans magnam partem ewangelii tanquam falsissimam, et per consequens hereticam et blasphemam. Ista enim secta
 Ps. CX, *faciendo in Oxonia memoriam mirabilium suorum*, con-
 4 gregata fuit latenter cum fratribus 4^{or}; et tanquam tota
 H. 25 universitas penderet in manu eorum, heretici dicuntur heretisasse duas sentencias de Eukaristia; prima, quod post consecracionem in missa remaneat substancia panis materialis in hostia consecrata. Et, ne deficientibus
 30 argumentis enuclietur eorum stulticia, excommunicarunt eos, qui tenent, docent, vel intersunt doctrine contrarii. Sed inter eos deus movit quemdam doctorem secularem catholicum, ut non consenciat, sed contradicat stulticie eorum. Ipse autem dicitur interrogasse eos in primis, si voverint hereticare sanctorum sentencias de univer-
 35 salibus ex parte rei, ex quibus signa capiunt apud logicos nomen suum. At illi hoc pre verecundia negaverunt. At ille: "Ex hoc", inquit, "sequitur quod substancia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata. Genus,

There would be no loss if this graduation were put an end to.
 1. Preaching and expounding of Scripture existed before it.
 2. Since the gospel of these private religions savours more of sin than civil lordship, it is not above that of Christ.
 3. Since the institution of Friars, heresies have been multiplied, as in Oxford of late.

Four Friars, together with an assembly of heretics, condemned the doctrine that the substance of bread remained after consecration.

But God moved a Catholic Doctor to ask them whether they intended to condemn the doctrine of universals *ex parte rei*; which they denied. Then he pointed out that in that doctrine the substance of bread and of Christ's body

2. et C. 3. det C; *ib.* graduacionem A. 10. vita *deest* C. 11. decerpendum B. 18. et *pro* per B. 20. moniacha B. 22. autem BC. 23. tacet B in o. . . . memoria A; *faciendo in Oxoniis* C. 28. immaterialis B. 31. inter eos *deest* C.

20 and seq. The condemnation is given in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 110. 26. I have translated this passage in *De Apostasia*, Introduction.

being identical, the substantial presence of Christ's Body implies the substance of bread.

To Scriptural arguments, and to the likelihood that whatever such madmen condemned was true, he added:

According to logicians, the substance is wherever a body is; therefore there must be material substance in the Host.

For in the consecrated Host there is thickness, which according to Aristotle is a body.

Again, Christ's Body is a substance, and it is 'bread indeed'; therefore it is the substance of bread.

It is therefore a compound of matter and form.

And Christ's Body, not being immaterial,

inquam, substance est ubicunque fuerit aliquod eius individuum. Sed in dicto sacramento est individuum generis substance; quia, ut ipsi asserunt, ibi est corporaliter corpus Cristi: igitur remanet in ipsa hostia ipsum genus. Et cum ipsum sit substantia (quia quiditas cuiusunque materialis substance), et sic panis; sequitur quod substantia panis materialis remanet in hostia consecrata". Et quia nescierunt tollere hanc evidenciam, ipsos renuit tanquam stultos. Sophismata autem dicitur taliter innexisse: "Per ante", inquit, "non habui argumenta, nisi solum modo ex scriptura; modo autem accrevit argumentum topicum quod *si dicti maniaci hereticaverint dictam sentenciam; igitur verum*". "Ad hoc", inquit, "adducuntur evidencie logice isto modo. Ubicunque est corpus panis materialis, est substantia panis materialis; sed in hostia consecrata est corpus panis materialis: igitur est ibi substantia panis materialis. Maior patet per logicos, qui dicunt quod in omni genere accidentis est dare substantiam rei, et alia que sibi accidentaliter inexistunt. Unde Augustinus, super psalmo 68, dicit quod omnis creatura est substantia. Minor autem probatur sic: In hostia consecrata est profunditas panis materialis qui prefuit, et omnis talis profunditas est corpus, dicente Aristotele in predicamentis ca^o de quantitate, quod unum genus quantitatis est linea, superficies et corpus. 2^o arguitur sic ad idem: In hostia consecrata remanet corpus Cristi, et ipsum est substantia panis materialis; igitur conclusio. Maiorem suppono ex fide et datis ab adversario, et minor patet ex fide scripture; cum corpus Cristi sit panis. ut adversarii propter reverenciam concorditer confitentur. Nec dubium, quin per idem est substantia panis et quod sit panis materialis. Ex hoc videtur quod est panis compositus ex materia et forma. Sic enim vocat ewangelium illum *panem vite, panem qui de celo descendit, et panem nostrum cottidianum*; cum talia comitantur per accidens corpus Cristi. Igitur, cum ipsum corpus sit per se materiale, multo evidencius foret panis materialis. Non

1. igitur A; inquit C. 9. remittit A; sophista C. 20. accidentaliter C. 26. illud B. 31. ex *twice* A. 36. committantur B.

9. *Sophismata* is, I think, here used in a good sense, as a 'clever argument'. In *Logica* Wyclif often says: *Hic dicitur quod sophisma est verum*. 25. Arist. *Opera: ætjπογία*, 6. ed. Berlin, 1831, etc. t. 1, p. 4, l. 23.

enim est ipsum corpus panis immaterialis, cum non sit formaliter res immaterialis". Ideo non valet iste fucus sophisticus quo dicitur panem illum esse materiale, sed non esse panem materiale; sicut dicitur fabrum esse bonum, sed non compositum bonum fabrum, quia duo accidentia insunt eidem secundum disparem rationem. Aliqui autem logici dicunt probabiliter quod nemo potest esse faber, nisi sub aliquo gradu fuerit bonus faber. Sed quomodocunque sit de hoc, certum est ex fide quod sicut corpus Christi est panis, sic est substantia panis materialis. Ut sicut Christus est leo, sic est leo rationalis de tribu Juda. Et sicut equivocantes concedunt quod corpus Christi non est panis materialis, sic debent concedere quod non est panis.

Sed 3^o arguitur de sacramento secundum sui naturam quod sit substantia panis materialis. Nam ipsum per se substat ac | cidentibus, habens in se potenciam recipiendi tam formas substantiales quam accidentales, quibus per se subiciatur. Cum igitur hoc sit proprium substantie materiali, sequitur quod hoc sacramentum sit materialis substantia, ut dicit ecclesia. Et hinc Augustinus, attribuens sibi proprietates panis materialis, dicit quod est cibus corporalis et convertitur in hominem comedentem. Jeronimus etiam dicit quod est corpus, ut patet de cons. dis. 2^a ca^o "Duplíciter" et ca^o "De homine". Adversarii etiam dicentes quod est accidens confitentur quod est panis, licet equivoce, quia signum panis; ut septem boves et VII spice dicuntur VII anni, Genes. 41. Cum igitur eque sit signum substantie panis materialis, videtur quod debent concedere consequenter quod est substantia panis materialis. Et illud tractatum est diffuse alibi, quomodo accidens non potest esse sine subiecto; quomodo panis sit corpus Christi, et quomodo doctores recentes debent intelligi, quod sacramentum post consecrationem non remanet pure panis; nec aliud exigit ratio vel auctoritas scripture. In cuius signum omnes consecratores vel sanctificatores accidentis per se nesciunt glosam istam doctorum suorum infringere: sicut nesciunt ad quidditatem

cannot be other than a material bread. To say: That Bread is material, but not material bread, is an evasion: it a carpenter is good he is a good carpenter, for everything is good to some extent. Christ is material bread, in the same way as He is a lion; if not, He is not bread at all.

What can sustain accidents and receive substantial forms is a substance and a body, as Augustine and Jerome call the Sacrament.

Even our adversaries admit that it is bread, as it is the sign of bread; they ought therefore to admit that it is material bread.

But all these questions are dealt with at length elsewhere.

1. est A. 5. est A. 10. Et pro Ut AB. 12. est deest AB.

15. panis fba A. 20, 21. tribuens B. 25. est pro etiam A; hac C; it. fatentur BC. 26. septem — et deest A. 28. sacramentum sub specie A. 31. alⁱ C. 37. de quidditate A.

24. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. II., c. 49, and D. V. c. 9.
27. Alibi. In De Apostasia and many other treatises.

tem sacramenti altaris, quod sentitur sensu extrinseco, evidenter adtingere.

It is strange that they should condemn a doctrine about which they know so little.

The Sacrament is porous; there may be in its pores bread that is not wheat, or a new bread may be produced there after consecration, or crumbs of non-consecrated bread might be mixed with it: in all these cases they would have condemned an evident truth.

The Oxford condemnation was therefore a temptation of Satan.

The cause of all this is that these apostates do not know how to interpret Scripture, according to Augustine's rules.

He says: When any expression is figurative, it must be examined until a good interpretation can be found to it; but it wants no

Et mirabile est quod contempnarent de una re, quam tantum ignorant, quod in ipsa sit substancia panis materialis ut nemo dampnat prudenter hominem quem 5 non noscit, cum ignorat si causa dampnacionis sibi infuerit. Quid igitur scit dampnator talis, cum sacramentum sit porosum, si in poris lateat panis non triticeus? vel si post consecracionem sacramentum generet novum panem? vel si, sacramento iacente inter hostias 10 non consecratas, mice panis intraverint poros eius? In quibus casibus fierit verum quod in sacramento altaris post consecracionem est substancia panis materialis. Ideo melius fuisset his satrapis didicisse quid sit hoc K. sacramentum, antequam contempnassent veritatem ex 15 sibi dubio, quod materialis substancia sit in illo. Ideo Jo. cum introierunt pretorium, et non introierunt in ipsum, XVIII, ut non contaminarentur, manifeste sequitur quod intro- 28 ierunt ut contaminarentur per contempnacionem fatuam veritatis. Nec parvipendat quisquam instancias istas, ut logicas, quia veritas fidei absconditur sub logica subtilissima in scriptura. Et legentes sentencias ac alii sepe sine dampnacione in Oxonia obtexerant falsitatem. Nimis igitur sathanas temptavit matrem nostram, quando cecavit paucos scripture falsarios ut sub fuco sciencie false simularent 25 sedampnare quod de facto est veritas a fidelibus acceptanda.

Sed oportet quod in fide de sacramento, sicut in aliis, ab apostatis illudatur ecclesia. Cuius illusionis origo est error sensus scripture. Nam ex hinc multi cecati superbia abierunt retro cum infidelibus, Joh. 6°. Nec Jo. VI, dignantur attendere ad regulas et dicta sanctorum in 67 ista materia. Scribit enim Augustinus, 3° de doctrina cristiana ca° 15, pro regula cognoscendi locucionem figurativam vel tropicam in scriptura. "Servabitur", inquit, "in locucionibus figurativis regula huiusmodi, ut 35 tamdiu versetur diligenti consideracione quod legitur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretacio perducatur. Si hoc autem iam proprie sonat, nulla putetur figurativa locucio. Si preceptiva locucio est aut flagicium vel

7, 8. sacramentum *deest* A. 9, 10. vel — panem *deest* C.
21, 22. subtilissima A. 23. $\widehat{\text{Texon}}$ A; in $\widehat{\text{Oxon}}$ C. 32. Augustinus *in*
mag. A. 33. 5 *pro* 15 C.

34. Aug. De doctrina Christiana. l. III, c. 15 (Migne. Pat.: t. XXXIV, col. 74).

facinus vetans, aut utilitatem vel beneticenciam iubens, non est figurativa. Si autem facinus aut flagicium videtur iubere aut utilitatem et beneficenciam vetare, figurativa est. Et ponit exemplum: *Nisi manducaveritis*, inquit, Jo. VI, *carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam* 54 *in vobis*. Facinus igitur vel flagicium videtur iubere; figura igitur est, precipiens passioni domini esse comunicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa et vulnerata sit. Nec 10 dubium quin ista locutio: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*, demonstratis pane et vino, sit figurativa consimili ratione. Unde precipiens comestionem panis et pocionem vini consecrati, quod prius precipit, statim subiungit ewangelium: *hec quocienscunque feceritis in mei* 15 *memoriam facietis*. Quasi diceret: Non comedetis vel bibetis corporaliter carnem meam vel sanguinem meum, sed spiritualiter passionem meam memoriter recolendo.

Et sic intelligitur Augustinus, epistola 14 ad Bonifacium. L. quando dicit quod sacramentum altaris 2^m quemdam 20 modum corpus Cristi est. Non enim scivit vel voluit iste sanctus onerare ecclesiam cum sompniis modo fictis, quod corpus Cristi sit corporaliter et carnaliter in hostia consecrata; sed sicut ewangelium Joh. 6^o dicit *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus*, sic 25 sacramentum altaris vere, sed figurative, est corpus Cristi vel sanguis: quia, ut Cristus dicit ibidem: *Caro non prodest quidquam*, cum sensus carnalis et modus carnalis corporis Cristi in sacramento foret inutilis atque superfluus; quia tunc indubie homo concederet carnaliter | 78^b 30 corpus Cristi; non solum quia esus sacramenti foret carnalis, sed quia corpus Cristi foret carnaliter in eodem: quod Augustinus dicit fore flagicium.

Unde deficientibus argumentis quidam prorumpunt in ista ludicria: "Tales", inquit, "qui dicunt istam 35 sententiam et extinguunt devocionem ecclesie, dicentes cum scriptura quod panis et vinum post consecracionem remaneant, tropice celebrant, sed ydemptice damnabuntur". Quo contradicitur quod isti ydiote arguunt:

3. infigurata AB. 6. flacio A. 7. igitur deest C. 9. vln'ata A.
15. facietis AB. 16. et pro vel B. 25. et B. 32. quia AB. 35. et
deest A. 37. 38. dampnabunt A.

13. Ad Bonifacium episcopum. c. Q. (Migne t. XXXIII, col. 364.)
14. *Hec quocienscunque*. These are the words of consecration at Mass, and are not in any Gospel, but adapted from I. Cor. XI, 25.

interpretation if
it can bear a
literal
meaning.
It it commands
to do any thing
good, it is
literal: if the
contrary,
figurative.
And as
Augustine's
example is:
*unless ye eat
the flesh of the
Son of Man...*
as a figure, it
is clear that
*This is my
Body*, is a
figure too.

Augustine
himself is to be
thus understood
when he says
that the
Sacrament is in
a manner
Christ's Body:

truly, but
figuratively.
"The flesh
profiteth
nothing": a
fleshly mode of
being in the
Sacrament
would be
useless

Some idiots
have said: such
as hold these
doctrines
celebrate
figuratively, but
will be damned
in reality.
But they
consecrate vain

accidents, and
will be praised
in vain.

Though the
words
expressing
God's anger or
the eating of
His Body may
be figures, the
things are real.

Other wild
theories: that
nothing exists
but substance:

that there is
nothing but
substance or
quality, as he
calls it: whence
we should have
to conclude that
the Sacrament,
if consecrated
on Good Friday,
is Friday.

They are so
infatuated that
they believe in
revelations in
support of their
follies.

Yet they cannot
ground their
condemnations
upon Scripture,
and they are
worth nothing.

A second point
condemned
refers to the
corporal
presence of
Christ.

"accidencia sine subiecto conficiunt, et hinc nusquam nisi forte in vacuo propter istam stulticiam laudabuntur". Constat inquam, logicis quod deus vere et realiter irascitur, sicut corpus suum vere et effectualiter manducatur, non tropice; licet locutio qua sensus talis exprimitur sit figurativa vel tropica. Ad tantam enim infatuantur cultores signorum quod credunt omnes proprietates que signis conveniunt suis signatis competere.

Ut ad tantum insanit hec secta, quod unus ponit nichil esse, nisi substantiam; sic quod non sit forma substantie materialis vel accidentalis. Alius autem qui magis furet ista demencia, ponit quod nichil est nisi substantia vel qualitas quam ipse nominat. Et sic debet dicere quod sacramentum altaris sentitum sensu extrinseco vel est substantia vel qualitas sua, aut ex talibus agregatum: et per consequens cum non sic substantia, sed tempus est, sacramentum altaris est dies veneris pro hoc anno, quia fuit dies veneris per totum diem paraseves; sicut quelibet substantia vel qualitas, que per illud tempus duravit. Alia autem inveniencia ex erroribus istis sequentibus relinquo scolasticis, sciens quod foret studio Oxoniensi utilius et isti secte honorabilius errores istos destruere, quam in ista materia de eukaristia tantum eis incognita laborare. Sed quidam tantum infatuantur mania, quod credunt deum et angelos confirmando complere quidquid, in quo suis mandatis subditis preceperint, firmiter obedire. Sed cras ex eis procul dubio cessabit illa potestas; nec sciunt inpresenciarum ipsam efficaciter stabilire. Ideo excommunicacio, dampnacio vel determinacio eorum non plus valet quam vox graculi, nisi de quanto fuerit fundabilis in scriptura. Sed blasfeme imponendo Cristo falsitatem in sua dampnacione, irracionalitatem in sua excommunicacione et inferioritatem diabolo in sua determinacione ostendunt se discipulos anticristi. Imponunt enim Cristo deo nostro omnes istas blasfemias, quia in quantum quis in nomine Cristi facit iniuriam, inponit sibi auctoritatem.

Quantum ad secundam dampnacionem quod corpus Cristi non sit corporali presencia in altari, probabile est quod si corpus Cristi vel aliquod sit alicubi, tunc

3. 4. nascitur B. 5. nam B; *ib.* talis quantis sensus A. 11. aut A.
12. fuit = ineret A. 20. durat A. 28. procul *deest* BC. 31. vox
deest A; *ib.* graculi C. 34. qua B. 39. terciam B.

corporali presencia et corporaliter est ibidem, ut dicit decretal Johannis 22ⁱ in Clementinis de reliquiis venerabilibus sanctorum ca^o. *Si dominum*. Nam cum secundum Augustinum presens dicitur quasi presto sensui, et 5 sensus comuniter dicitur de sensu corporis et sensu Rom. intellectus, iuxta illud Rom. 11^o: *Quis cognovit sensum* XI, 34 *domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit?* manifestum est quod res est presens, ubicunque sentita fuerit intellectu, et per consequens ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est 10 presencia corporali. Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod ubicunque corpus fuerit, ibi est corporaliter, quia, si corpus est alicubi corporaliter, tunc habet ibi unum novum modum essendi qui inest sibi in quantum illud corpus: sicut si corpus sit alicubi presencia, tunc habet 15 unum ibi modum essendi, qui inest sibi in quantum ibi presens. Unde presencia corporis Christi est sibi accidentaliter in sacramento panis. Unde dicitur presencia corporalis, quia est presencia corporis, non quia illud corpus est ibi corporaliter, sed spiritualiter; ut creatura 20 dicitur divina, non quia deus, sed quia sanctificata per deum. Et sicut non sequitur *Petrus facit bonum moraliter*; ergo *facit bene moraliter*: ut, posito quod Petrus infidelis prescitus iuvet Platonem predestinatum ad faciendum unum opus virtuosum respectu Pauli: ita 25 non sequitur: *corpus Christi est in sacramento presencia corporali*; igitur *est ibi corporaliter*. Et illi qui habent pro eodem *corporaliter* et *modo corporis*, locuntur in proprie et extense. Unde anticristine procedunt, qui super ista inproprietate fundant dampnationem heresis. 30 Primo, inquam, adiscerent hii blasfemi, qui fingunt hereses in alios per comenta mendacii de eucharistia, quid secundum naturam suam sit sacramentum panis, antequam sollicitarentur, quomodo corpus domini sit in illo. Certum, inquam, est quod remanet post benedictionem 35 unum per se sentitum quod non est substancialiter corpus Christi, et illud est sacramentum; sicut patet ex descriptione sacramenti et determinacione ecclesie 3^o decretalium de celebracione missarum: "Cum Marthe".

It is clear that Christ is present in the body, not to the bodily but to the spiritual sense.

But it does not follow that he is corporally present: this would entail a new mode of existence in every place where the Host was.

There is a corporal presence since, the Body is present: but spiritually, not corporally. It does not follow that to do good is to do well.

The mistake arises from mixing up two distinct things.

These blasphemers, who themselves invent the heresies they condemn, ought first to ask What the Sacrament is, before they ask how Christ is present therein. It is evident that the thing we see, as

1. tunc et presencialiter est B; et principaliter C. 2. 3. z ven A; reliquiis et Ven' sanc ca^o C. 4. dei pro dicitur A. 5. dei A.
6. fuerit deest C. 13. novum deest BG; aut pro qui A. 14. presenciam deest A; presencialiter C. 16. corporis deest C. 23. inbet A.
25. esse B. 28. hic pro qui A. 31. eukaria A; qui B. 37. declaratione B.

such, is not
identically
Christ and is
the Sacrament;
what is it?
I say it is bread
by nature and
sacramentally
Christ's Body.
There being
such heresies
abroad on the
subject, no alms
should be given
to a Friar or
priest holding
the wrong
doctrine; to give
them any thing
without due
questioning
would possibly
be to aid a
wicked disciple
of Antichrist.

et testantur doctores concorditer, quibus adversarii, ut
suis auditoribus, innituntur. Illud autem sacramentum
dico ego cum doctore meo Augustino esse naturaliter
panem, sed sanctificatum et quodammodo (quia sacra-
mentaliter) corpus Cristi. 5

Cum igitur circa illud latet in populo tanta infidelitas
seductiva, cristianus non daret elemosinam fratri sive
presbitero in hac fide | devio; sed primo quereretur de 79^a
quiditate istius sacramenti prudenter specificati; et,
suspecta secta sua, peteret ante comunicacionem in 10
bonis fortune sub sigillo capitanei sui fidem suam de
quiditate huius venerabilis sacramenti; quia aliter ex
sibi dubio foveret infidelem deteriolem pagano ypocrita,
seducentem populum, plenum discipulum anticristi. Talis
autem heretici obest celebracio, oracio et predicacio, 15
sicut irridenda est sua excommunicacio sive dampnacio.
Sic igitur post introduccionem sectarum fructificavit
scola fidelium. Dimissis igitur introductis subtilitatibus
anticristi intendat fidelis fructui fidei scripture.

l. adn'fan' C. 10 patenter A.

CAPITULUM SEPTIMUMDECIMUM.

A. UNdecimus tortor ecclesie est hostiarius. Et intelligo per hostiarium quemcunque nomine clericum extra sacros ordines, ut clericum parochialem. clericum offi-
 5 ciariorum predictorum et quoscunque novicios privati ordinis vel laicos, qui sub nomine clerici indebite vendicant dignitatem. Quamvis enim hostiarius sit superioris status quam abbas vel monachus in quantum talis; ut patet q. 3, dis. 7. "A Subdiacono"; tamen
 10 contingit clericos istos multipliciter inferiorari simpliciter monachis in virtute.

The eleventh tormentor of the Church is the *doorkeeper*; a name here used for all Church officials who are not in Holy Orders. Their rank is above Abbots; their conduct often puts them below mere monks.

Blasfemat autem quicumque clericus qui titulo clericus capit privilegium dignitatis Cristi, et tamen in vita nomini contradicit; quia ut sic mentitur super
 15 Cristo, quod sit de sorte sua, et per consequens quod Cristus auctorisat et vixerat talem vitam. Scopant autem populum clerici parochiales, dimissa Cristi pauperie, dum sumptuose mundi voluptatibus insolescunt. Cum enim sumptus talium non surgunt ex nichilo, non restat
 20 finaliter nisi quod spoliatur a populo. Si enim capiunt inordinate a suo curato sive magistro ex hoc quod seducunt parochianos simplices ad dandum rectori oblationes, decimas vel alia que nimis avide concupiscit, manifestum est quod spoliatio temporalium, quibus
 25 clericus taliter abutitur, redundat in parochianos illos simplices. Et idem est iudicium de seductione populi in baiulacione aque vel panis benedicti, in ministracione panis post recepcionem sacramenti et in seductione citacionis vel alterius fraudis subdole introducte; et sic
 30 utrobique pululat personarum accepcio, et perverso clericorum officio, populi laycalis seduccio, et ut breviter

It is blasphemy to stultify the dignity of a holy title by bad conduct. Offences of parish clerks.

They live in pleasure and derive the money thereto from the people that they spoil; whether directly or indirectly, following the orders of Curates who pay them, they are equally to blame.

1. *Cam in red ink A.* 2. *Initial U in red ink A.* 21. *prelato C.*
 26. *simpliciter B.*

dicatur narrare complete omnes perturbaciones que fiunt per parochiales clericos difficile est; peccant enim, bona dei in petulancia consumendo, in fraudulencia sui officii populum seducendo, et per consequens domino omnium a quo cuncta bona procederent, in populo proditorie 5 serviendo. Oportet enim quod deo serviant, velint, nolint; si proditorie, punientur cum populo permittente, quia torpor volicionis, que posset corrigere, reputabitur pro consensu. Sed malicia talis clerici sequitur ad maliciam prelati, rectoris, atque presbiteri perversi, cum zelans 10 pro causa dei vel aufugeret vel corripere subiectum inutilem.

They must serve God; but if they do so treacherously they will be punished with the people, whose torpor has connived at their misdeeds.

A priest complained that the door-keeper on Sundays added common water to the holy water he bore, so that the last families in the parish did not get pure holy water. We may not say that sprinkling with holy water is of no use; nor that any small quantity of a liquid 'sacramental' can sanctify any large one: each part keeps its own place, and the accident 'holiness' does not pass from one to the other; besides, if so, a door-keeper might sanctify all the water in the world by

Unde audiui quendam sacerdotem conqueri de seduc- B. cione hostiarii, dum diebus dominicis deferendo aquam benedictam immiscet sepe aquam non benedictam, et sic 15 novissima parochie non habent aspersionem aque totaliter benedictę. et per consequens in spiritualibus differenter fraudatus parochia. Non enim phas est dicere quod aque talis aspersione nichil valet. Nec valet dicere quod in liquidis sacramentum quantumcunque parvum 20 sanctificat quantumlibet copulatum, tum quia non extenduntur, sed occupant loca propria, et (secundum nota philosophis) sanctitas aque, cum sit accidens, non migrat de subiecto uno in aliud; tum eciam, quia hostiarius sic proiciendo guttam aque benedictę in mare 25 sanctificaret totum mare; ymmo, cum omnes aque mediterraneę, paludales, vel fontales communicantur cum mari per catharactas absconditas, hostiarius posset faciliter sanctificare omnes aquas mundi, et cum aqua non debeat iterum consecrari, olim cessarent aquarum con- 30 secraciones ministerio sacerdotis. Nec valet dicere quod spiritualiter generatur nova sanctitas, ut contingit de luce, tum quia per idem sic foret de sanctificandi con-

2. est narrare *omnes* MSS. 8. colligere A. 9. Sic B. 11-16. deferendo aquam benedictam nō bñdcoiz et sic novissimam immisceret sepe aquam C. 20. aque *deest* A. 27. contaminatur A. 30. cessarent AC.

22. Wiclif, as is seen in his philosophical treatises, especially in *Logica*, admitted the doctrine of atoms. Each atom of the holy water remained sanctified, but did not sanctify that which was not. I understand that the common belief is that any amount of ordinary water added, if less than the quantity of holy water to which it is added, becomes holy itself; if *more*, there is no longer any holy water. This theory is of course exposed to many difficulties.

stantibus, ut pane, palmis, igne, cera, tymiamate, cereo, petra, fructibus et aliis sanctificatis comuniter; tum etiam, quia liceret exorciste, hostiario vel layco cui-
 5 cunque benedicere vel sacrare cuncta huiusmodi, quia deferre ipsa ad loca, in quibus multiplicarent sibi similia in subiecto capaci. In quo casu, sicut deferens candelam ad locum tenebrosum ipsum illuminat, sic videtur quod applicans instrumentum multiplicandis sic consecratis instrumentaliter sic consecraret. Et patet ficticia. Sicut
 10 enim hostiarius facit novam aquam, sic consecrat ipsam aquam, ipsa a sui initio consecrata; quia aliter solus deus consecraret, et non presbiter vel minister.

pouring in one drop of holy water:
 nor that juxtaposition occasions a new entity of holiness to come forth, as when a candle lights up the darkness; for then every-thing could thus be blessed.

Relictis igitur obiectionibus contra responsiones fictas, videtur quod sicut in primitiva ecclesia habuerunt
 79^b 15 Christi discipuli potestatem faciendi miracula, sic habuerunt potestatem corpora tam rationabilia quam irrationabilia consecrandi. Nam Marc. ultimo scribitur.
 Marc. XVI, *Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur: In nomine meo demona eicient* etc. Cum igitur in corporibus tam
 17, 18 animatis quam inanimatis latent demonia, ut patet de legione demonum missa in porcos, Marc. 5^o et in aere
 Marc. V, 13 et in aliis corporibus, ubi magis nocent homini, est notorium hos latere; ewangelium autem igitur permittens, nedum sacerdotibus, sed generaliter in Christum
 25 credentibus, potestatem et effectum eiciendi demonia, dat fidem quod sic possunt in Christum credentes, cum potestas domini inextingwibilis perpetuo sit parata

Wyclif's theory of sacramentals. Christ's disciples had the power to cast out devils and work miracles; and as devils lie hid in animals and other things (which is a well-known fact) the Gospel ascribes the power of casting them out to all who believe in Christ.

C. Credo tamen quod sufficerent de clero, sicut fuit tempore apostoli, diaconus et sacerdos. Nam habundantius onus ecclesie est infundabile; nisi quia sic placet
 30 satrapis, et, ut fingitur, ad honorem et usum ecclesie prodest multum. Ille igitur qui habet potestatem purgandi corpus a demonio, habet etiam potestatem consecrandi, sive per eos deus det novam virtutem, sive
 35 amovendo prohibens resuscitet antiquam.

But the two orders of priests and deacons were sufficient: the others have been only a burden to the Church.

Whosoever can cast devils out of anything, has therefore the power to bless it.

But as the faith of many fails, we may believe that some priests have not this power — not

Sed sicut multi, etiam sacerdotes, in fide deficiunt, sic credibile est quod deficiunt in ministrando sacramenta et sacramentalia; non solum quo ad modum virtuosi ministerii, sed in penam peccati sui et populi
 40 desunt crebrius quo ad substanciam sacramenti, quia

1. et cera A; *ib.* cero *pro* ceren AB. 12. cosecraret C. 13. obiectibus A. 18. sequenter A. 21. Marc. *deest*; blank space B. 27. potestates A. 29. Non C.

affirming this
without a
special
revelation, but
tearing and
suspecting them
— if we see that
they do not
follow Christ's
law.

We cannot
suppose without
blasphemy that
God would
give such
power to such
a man. If a
king knew
beforehand
that such a one
would be a
traitor, would
he not be
foolish if he
trusted his
power to him?
A priest who
sometimes
does wrong
abuses his
power: one who
continually
does wrong
does not, for he
has no power.
And the best
proof that he
has none is to
be proud of
it, to whatever
station of the
priesthood he
may belong.

We must
believe our
senses for
things of the
senses; and as
for things
beyond the
senses, we
should judge
according to
works.

Thus,
sometimes the
priest blesses
the water

non sunt illi quibus deus concessit huiusmodi potestatem. Et licet nemo debet presumere de quoquam sine revelacione hoc credere, sic nec debet ut perfidiam illud discredere, sed timere. Ad quod capitur evidencia probabilis fortem suspicionem generans, si clericus vel 5 prelatus non servat legem Cristi suo officio limitatam. Tunc enim indicat quod deus, sciens omnia preterita et futura, non ponit eum in tali officio, quod scit quod in penam peccati ipsum impossibilitat adimplere. Unde videtur blasfemia quod deus det sacerdoti huiusmodi 10 potestatem. Si enim rex presciret clare quod quis sit proditor regni sui, et super illam scienciam daret sibi potestatem plenam ad talia gubernacula talis regni, nonne iudicaretur quod rex talis foret improvidus? Sic igitur affirmans talem pseudo-officiarium habere pote- 15 statem tantam, cum non possit illam habere, nisi adeo implicat blasfeme quod deus, omnium conditor, sit imprudens. Ille igitur, qui ante et post recte supplebit officium et interim ad horam errat in ministerio, abutitur sua potestate. Ille autem, qui perpetuo non facit 20 recte tale officium, non abutitur potestate, nisi forte pretenso vel communi, quia non habet potestatem talem specificam, licet pompaverit se habere. Unde evidencia fortis est, quod prelatus errat experts potestatis huiusmodi; si pompaverit (sive papa, sive cardinalis, sive 25 episcopus arrogans et pompans) si segnis in humili Cristi officio; frustra quo ad scolam Cristi huiusmodi potestatem. Periculosum itaque foret hominem vindicare novitatem potestatis, sicut spissim fit in materia de eukaristia, vel antiquam potestatem sine correspondencia 30 operis asserere se habere. Deus enim ordinavit quod operibus, que hinc ordinavit sensibilia debemus credere, et potestatem, quam ordinavit insensibilem et nobis absconditam ex operibus de levi debemus supponere. Modo autem eversivi scola anticristi, dimissis operi- 35 bus, contendit circa magnitudinem potestatis. Nec dubium quin innaturalis scole eversio originatur a rege superbie.

Redeundo igitur ad propositum, conceditur quod in D. casu sacerdos rite benedicit pani, aque, oleo et si-

5. supposicionem C. 10. modi *deest* A. 11. sit continue B.
14. nomine A. 17. proditor B. 22. pretenso B. 24. erret C; *ib.* et
pars A; ex parte C. 25. si *pro* sive *before* papa AB. 27, 28. huius-
modi potestate *pro* officio — potestatem B. 29. sit *omnes* MSS.
30. antiqua A. 31, 32. quod operibus *deest* C. 32. hic A. 35. omni A;
eversi B.

milibus altero dictorum modorum vel utroque, et clericus in casu rite ministrat hec populo; et sepe contingit fieri errorem in utroque. Concedunt enim quod aqua benedicta est infinitum melior non benedicta: ymmo
 5 infinitum melior vino quantolibet non sacramento; et tamen negligencia qua tractant ipsam dat populo fidem quod false illudunt laycis, credentes contrarium. Excessus. inquam, quo aqua benedicta excedit non benedictam, cum aliquantum facit ad eius melioracionem, et in nulla pro-
 10 porcione racionabili, non restat nisi quod sit infinitum melior. Et per idem videtur quod predia mortificata et consecrata ecclesie, dum fiunt Cristi patrimonium, infinitum meliorarentur, et sic regnum. Sanctitas autem superaddita, que non est racionaliter numismati com-
 15 parabilis, videtur infinitum melior quam dispositio corporalis. Sed videtur quod bona talia et regna sint inde potius peiorata, quia ordinacioni dei ut sic contraria. Ideo videtur quod anticristus mendaciter blasphematur in potestate diabolica contra Christum, quia ordinacioni
 20 Cristi repugnat, et false vendicat potenciam, quam non
 80^a fundat in Christo. In cuius signum res | sic sacrate crebrius et vilius emuntur ab anticristi discipulis quam alia non sacrata. Ideo videtur quod scola sua sit contraria sibi ipsi, cum symoniace blasphematur implicite quod deus malus
 25 et non dominus facit ista. Talia itaque que lucrum non sapiunt, licet rite sanctificata fuerint, sunt hodie parvipensa. Sed alia, quorum sanctificacio est infundabilis, sunt simulacione falsa ab yppocritis comendata.

Clericus igitur baiulus aque benedictae debet reverenter
 30 ipsam spargere, et non nimis crebro aquam extraneam comiscere; quandoque tamen deus sanctificat nobis incognite. Et cum talis sanctitas sit nobis inutilis, nisi de quanto ordinatur ad sanctitatem mentis, debet moderate postponi, ut cerimonia, quo ad ipsam. Ne-
 35 cesse quidem est uti ceremoniis, quamdiu est religio viatorum imperfecta. Sed totum periculum est in preponderancia sua ultra per se finem talis ceremonie magis bonum; ut si sanctitas mentis honoretur eque bene vel melius sine usu talium consecratorum, religiosum foret
 40 ipsa dimittere. Sic enim dimittentur in patria, sicut

and the door-keeper distributes it rightly; sometimes not. Holy water is infinitely better than any other, even than non-consecrated wine; yet it is treated with much neglect.

Lands consecrated to the Church should also be infinitely better; but in fact they are worse, as opposed to God's ordinance: Antichrist falsely claims to consecrate them, for the sake of lucre.

The door-keeper should sprinkle the holy water with reverence and not add water to it too frequently. We should not set this 'blessedness' of the water too much in the foreground: it is only for our use. Ceremonies are necessary here below; but there is danger

4. est — benedicta *deest* C. 10. fit A. 13. enim B. 11, 15. *numismati* corporalis AB; *numismati* C. 16. mili A. 28. *quod* A. 29. autem B. 36. est *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest* B. 37. sentencie AB. 38. haberetur AC.

in making too much of them. We must keep aloof from two excesses:

contempt of these rites and an exaggerated esteem for them:

i. e. as in private religions &c. a greater esteem for them than for their end.

These blessings, necessary to salvation, are yet better than the Friars' observances.

As for the mixing of consecrated with

unconsecrated oil, it is a still more serious matter, since

such consecration, reserved to Bishops only, is made at great expense, and is the object of Canon law;

yet it often happens that the oil of Baptism or

Confirmation is so mixed that it is no longer consecrated.

In all this we have to consider our spiritual profit, caring little for the rites in themselves.

privata religio. Utrobique enim est nimietas ponderancie et ritus despectio contempnenda. Et omnino prima pars, ut patet ex religionibus privatis; et adinventiones humanas studentibus, et nimis onerantibus simplices, cum illa appreciantur amplius quam finem eorum. Sed di-⁵ missio aliquorum que lucrum non sapiunt, ut fructuum, carnum et pere cum baculo, et eis similibus, docet quod omnia ista, habitis suis finibus, sunt preternecessaria ad salutem. Omnia tamen ista ex antiquitate et ratione sunt evidenciora quam ritus vel ordines¹⁰ mendicantium super ewangelium introducti.

In comixione autem olei non consecrati cum con-^{E.} secrato est maior fallacia anticristi. Primo, quia res censetur ex maiori solemnitate sacramenti solum sanctificationi episcopi deputata; ideo eius negligencia¹⁵ est amplius ponderanda. 2^o, quia episcopus, cui sine ratione sed ob superbam preeminenciam deputatur hec consecratio, debet 2^m largas expensas sibi deputatas a regnis de fabrice sue ministerio, cum undiquaque iacet maius periculum, solicius provideri. Et 3^o, quia leges²⁰ limitant periodum in novacionem olei consecrati, ut patet de consecr. dist. 1^a "Si quis de alio crismate quam de illo novo quod proprii episcopi largicione acceperit, baptizare aliquem, nisi preoccupante morte, temptaverit, pro temeritatis ausu ipse in se proprie dampnacionis²⁵ protulisse sentenciam manifestatur. Non sic autem de aqua benedicta". Nec dubium, quin tanta vel maior sit ratio, quia contingit oleum non consecratum oleo consecrato adeo comisceri, quod baptisetur vel confirmetur³⁰ fidelis omnino oleo non consecrato, in quo stabilito sacramento iacet magnum periculum. In omnibus autem istis, eciam usque ad sacramenta, attendendum est ad fructus, si habeantur facilius, fertilius et ecclesie primitive similibus sine talibus signis, quam elaboracione eorum; et est secure ab eis in suis fructibus quies-³⁵

14. sciencie C. 19. 20. cum — solicius *deest* C. 23. de *deest* C; *ib.* acceperis A. 27. est A. 30. fidelis *deest* B; *ib.* sacrato C. 31. in quo iacet B; iaceret C. 34. cum B; sive C; *ib.* ex celebracione A.

12. The *Rituale Romanum* (edit. 1750) says: Curet Parochus ut ea (sc. olea) suo tempore quam primum habeat, et tunc vetera in Ecclesia comburat . . . Veteribus oleis nisi necessitas cogat ultra annum non utatur; ac si deficere videantur, et chrisma aut oleum benedictum haberi non posset, aliud oleum de olivis non benedictum adjiciatur, sed in minori quantitate. 22. Decr. Grat. De Cons., D. IV., c. 122.

cendum, et contempto satrape precepto, in lege domini confidendum.

Sed quo ad secundam maneriem clericorum extra-
ordinariorum, notandum quod sunt nimis multiplices,
5 cum pene tot sunt officia huiusmodi clericorum, quot
sunt officia virilia et pacifica in domibus vel officiis
regum et secularium dominorum: ut in officiis regum
sunt cancellarii, thesaurarii, clerici de secreto et pri-
vato sigillo, clerici de parvo bag: ergo et infinita que non
10 expedit iam narrare. Et cum secularibus dominis sunt
clerici de coquina, cum eis similibus. Ymmo oportet
vicecomitem et iusticiarium, senescalum vel ballivum,
habere clericum servientem. Nec dubium quin tota ista
maneries clericorum magis a ratione clerici degenerat,
15 quam parrochialis clericus in quantum talis. Et iterum
certum est quod regna que sic monstruose transferunt
officia clericorum, ut sic, parturiunt dissensiones, derisiones,
et multa bella regnis: que vel paulative vel subito oportet
prorumpere, quia oportet quod ordinationi divine contra-
20 rius vincatur. Nec capit excusacionem ista proditoria
ministrorum domus dei subversio, cum nedum ordinationi
divine inponitur blasfeme stulticia, sed in domo dei sive
ecclesia, matre nostra, emergunt latenter multa facinora; et
specialiter, dum clerici infra sacros ordines et curati occu-
25 pantur circa secularia. De aliis autem vocatis clericis extra
hunc statum, cum licet eis coniugari ut laicis, non contendo.

Unde leges ecclesie ex auctoritate scripture dampnant
hunc modum, ut 21 qu. 3 ca^o *Modo*, canon sic loquitur:
"Apostolorum statuta sunt que dicunt: *Nemo mili-*
30 *tans deo implicat se negociis secularibus*. Proinde aut
clerici sint sine actoribus domorum, aut actores sine
80^b officio clericorum." Et sequitur: | "Clerici non nisi altari
et sacrificiis deservire et precibus atque oracionibus
vacare debent." Et allegat ut supra, illud 1^a thymo. 2^o:
35 *Nemo militans deo implicat se negociis secularibus, ut ei*
2 Tim. *placeat, cui se probavit*. Item 3^o decretalium in fine,
11, 4 quando magis claudicavit religio cristiana, sic scribitur
in nomine pape Eugenii: "Sacerdotibus et clericis tuis"

A second point
against the
inferior clergy
is their too
great number;
they are to be
found in the
king's court and
in all great
houses,
occupying every
function:
chancellors,
treasurers,
clerks of the
Privy Seal and
Petty Bag &c.,
even clerk of
the kitchen;
and every great
officer has a
clerk to serve
him.
This is very
wrong,

and quite
inexcusable.

at least as
concerns such
'clerks' as
really belong to
the clergy.
It is forbidden
by several
canons.

'Let clerks have
no domestic
offices, or let
the officers of
the household
not be clerks'.
'Their
business is at
the Altar, and
with prayer'.

'They must be
publicly
forbidden to

1, 2. et - confidendum *deest* A. 7, 8. ut - sunt *deest* C. 9. baggo A;
baggo C. 12. et senescalum B. 13. clicum C. 14. a *deest* C.
18. que *twice* C. 24, 25. occupant A. 30. curis A; *ib.* autem A. 32. Nota
quod clerici non debent dominis temporalibus secularibus ministrare *at*
top of page B. 31. 2 B. 37. quin A.

28. Decr. Grat. 2^a Pars., ca^a XXI, qu. 34, c. 2 and 4. 38. Decr.
Greg., l. III, tit. 50, cap. 2.

deal with
money matters;
if they do, and
are taken in
fraud, the
Church must
not help them".

It is clear from
these laws that
no good
Christian
should give a
clerk any
secular
employment.

To act
otherwise is
blindly to
dishonour the
Church, our
mother.

Sophisms by
which this
custom is
defended.
1. "It favours
the prosperity
of the
kingdom".

But it is
contrary to
Scripture.

2. "The
laws forbidding
it are
obsolete."
But Christ's
law is eternal,
and cannot
become
obsolete.
The antiquity
of an abuse
proves nothing
in its favour.
3. "Kings have
the right to
promote whom
they will of

denuncies publice, ne ministri laycorum fiant, nec in
rebus eorum procuratores existant. Quod si postmodum
facere presumant, et occasione ipsius administracionis
propter peccuniarum causam deprehendantur in fraude,
indignum est eis ab ecclesia subveniri, per quos constat 5
in ecclesia scandalum generari." Ex istis benedictis
legibus elaboratis ex fide scripture, patet quod qui-
cunque secularis dominus qui diligit matrem ecclesiam
debet ministros eius servare honorifice in illo mini-
sterio quod dominus eis limitavit. Si enim sacerdotes 10
occupat in seculari officio ob spem promocionis sy-
moniacę, ut sic vivant secularius et dicitur quo ad
mundum, nullus scelestius vel turpius inficit matrem
suam. Et sic, ex cecitate qua honorando putat ecclesie
in illis benefacere, sumptuose dampnificat se et illos, 15
cum secundum legem dei. Exo. 20, *Qui non honorat* Exod.
matrem carnalem et magis spiritualem, carebit longevi- XX, 12
tate et prosperitate *super terram*, quia vite passivo prin-
cipio contradicit. Diabolus itaque cum bonis temporali-
bus minimis excecatur carnales, faciendo eos credere de 20
umbris quod sint luces contrarie legi Cristi.

2^o notaret fidelis fallaciam argucie anticristi, qua G.
ex antiquitate vendicatur tales clerici oppressiones con-
petere regie maiestati. "Bene", inquit, "et prospere
stetit cum regno, quando fuit per clerum taliter mini- 25
stratum." In isto oportet, contra anticristi perfidiam,
fidem scripture et leges ecclesie ex illa collatas sup-
ponere. Et patet ex ewangelio, quod esse *in domibus* Math.
regum et vestiri mollibus propter gubernacionem vel XI, 9
dominacionem secularem familie est contrarium clero 30
Cristi, cum hoc venenum fugerunt Cristus et sui apostoli
cum Baptista. Nec valet dicere quod oportet legem
istam mutari; quia est lex Cristi eterna, cui non est
superior successura. Sed maior videtur nunc necessitas,
propter maioritatem periculi, quod diligentius observe- 35
tur. Nec excusat antiquitas, cum nequicia diaboli sit
longe antiquior, et potestas sua de qua superbit sit
potestate regis superior. Ideo oportet videre, super anti-
quitatem, licenciam in speculo scripturarum. 3^o monen-
tur reges quod licet eis hec facere, quia licet eis legios 40
et promotos suos ad tam necessarium officium deputare.

4. fraudem C. 11. occupant A. 13. modum A. 17, 18. longi-
mitate B. 18. passio B. 20. nimis A. 30. contrarium deest A.
31. nig'am't C. 37. scribit A.

Sed constat quod repugnat cuicumque domino abuti
 possesso, sicut repugnat cuicumque subdito subtrahere
 ordinationem vel servicium domini capitalis. Deus autem
 est dominus capitalis cuiuscunque creature. Ideo in omni
 5 exactione regis quo ad servicium clericorum debet ex-
 cipi servicium debitum illi domino capitali. Ymmo,
 supposito quod talis apostota consentiret vel affectaret
 sic monstruose secularibus dominis deservire, illi domini
 detestarentur eos tamquam inutiles et proditores dei et
 10 hominum; nec plus acceptarent eorum servicium quam
 demonum, cum acceptando involverent se infidelitatis
 periculo aput deum, et inficerent se proditorio servicio
 per talem clericum. Ideo, idem esset regalias regum
 illud exigere, et, blasphemando se esse superiores domino,
 15 inficere se et regnum. Et patet quod promocio sy-
 moniaci parturit talia magis mala; quia in hoc con-
 ducitur, ut sit proditor deo suo.

Nec sunt evidencie diaboli digne memoria. Dicit enim
 quod stat clericum facere utrumque servicium: sed illi
 20 clerici non sunt apciores quam erant apostoli. Ipsi enim
 non sufferunt, sine peccato omissionis, pure servire do-
 mino Jesu Cristo. Quomodo igitur serviret sibi inculpa-
 biliter talis derisus homuncio? Nonne dicit apostolus
 negativam: *nemo militans deo implicat se negociis se-*
 25 *cularibus?* Sed ubi est maior implicacio, quam sic
 assidua et obligatoria et mundana ministracio? Alienacio
 quidem a Cristi servicio que in omni genere cleri cor-
 30ruit, est implicacionis secularis testificacio. Secularis
 autem non, ut sic, militat deo, sed forte venialiter
 35servit mundo. Laxent itaque clerici sic pompantes suam
 magnam operationem in piscacione hominum 2^m recia
 sancti Petri. Sed ille *relictis omnibus* ante hec *secutus*
 Luc. *est dominum Jesum Cristum*, ut patet Lu. 5. Si igitur
 V, 11 *seculare servicium sit regi necessarium, compleatur per*
 35 *secularem ad illud ydoneum, et differatur divinum ser-*
vicium. Si autem curatus servit regibus, serviat pure
clericale servicium sive consilium; et resignet, vel per
alium preordinet, curatoris officium. Et sic, si anti-
 40 *cristus fingit nullum alium sufficere ad occupandum*
seculare regis officium, degradetur vel fiat laicus, per-

their subjects
 to such
 necessary
 offices".
 But kings may
 not abuse their
 rights to take
 away from
 those of the
 King of Kings.
 A man willing
 to be thus
 promoted would
 be a traitor
 to God and
 man, whose
 service should
 be no more
 accepted than
 those of devils.

The arguments
 in favour of
 this custom are
 very weak. It is
 false that both
 services can be
 properly
 performed: the
 Apostles
 themselves were
 not equal to
 the task.
 As a fact,
 Christ's service
 is abandoned
 when the clergy
 has to serve the
 world.

Let them not
 boast of being
 fishers of men:
 Peter left all to
 follow Christ.
 Seculars should
 perform secular
 duties.

If a curate
 serves the king,
 let him do
 simply clerk's
 service; and
 let him give up
 his curacy,
 and become a
 layman.

4. capitalis *deest* B. 11. ut C. 13. regalis A. 14. interiores B.
 15. quomodo C. 19. constat C. 20. essent B. 29. et *before* mundana
deest B. 27. quod *omnes* MSS. 27, 28. cernit A. 33. cum A.
 35. deseratur A. 36. servit *omnes* MSS.

He must, to
keep his
clerical
privilege, refuse
secular work.

It is said that
the king cannot
afford to pay
his servants,
unless by giving
them
benefices.
But it is
precisely the
endowment of
the clergy that
causes all the
difficulty.

It is indeed the
ruin of the
State or the
ruin of the
Church: the
clergy must
either not exist,
or serve the
king rather
than God: both
are
blasphemous
conclusions.
They say that
temporal lords
might spend
less: which is
true, but still
more true of
them.
At any rate,
Christ did not
condemn the
sumptuous
living of
seculars.

A defender of
the rights of
the poor might
say: These
people are most
wretched: and
this is the fault
either of the
clergy or of the
secular powers;
by their avarice
and prodigality.

dendo clericale privilegium. Vel si vult ipsum | servare, 81*
abneget impossibile seculare servicium, sicut oportet
iuxta legem predictam. Nam curator domorum vel
ductor secularis negotii aut dimittet, aut confundet
alterum, vel utrumque. 5

Sed obicitur quod ita extraneata sunt terre dominia,
ut regaliis repugnet habere clericos necessarios servi-
tores, nisi de beneficiis quibus dotatur ecclesia, fiat
beneficii reconpensa. Sed maledictum illud insane dia-
boli incitamentum, quo inducitur tantum inconveniens 10
utrobique! Nam idem est ac si inferatur ex dotacione
ecclesie venenosa quod ipsa non staret nisi vel destructi
forent principes seculares; vel verificaretur principium
patris mendacii: quod clericus sit non clericus; vel
quod regi seculari debet servire, deo postposito. Sed 15
cum utrumque posteriorum sit notum blasphemum in-
conveniens implicare, necessitati sunt asserentes hoc
antecedens, quod dotacio predicta ecclesie antecederet
necessitat ad destruccionem secularium dominorum,
quod licet sit eis verum incognitum, tamen tam pos- 20
sessionati quam fratres educati in veneno fugiunt veram
medicinam salutiferam, ut venenum. Palliant enim quod
seculares domini possent vivere vitam pauperiorem, et
sic de bonis dei minus expendere quod licet sit verum,
tamen in ipsis caperet sua *de inesse* verificacionem 25
rationi plus congruam; cum Cristus et apostoli cum
aliis religiosis ipsos de propinquiori sequentibus vixerunt
valde parce et nullis secularibus onerose; seculares autem
tacendo (quod equivalet consensui) permisit Cristus vi-
vere seculariter sumptuose. 30

Ideo procurator pauperum communitatum sic pro I.
illis argueret: "Dicti vulgares ex defectu bonorum tem-
poralium miserabiliter et differenter vexantur inopia;
quod non esset, nisi comunitas predicta proporcionaliter
peccaret, vel clerus aut seculare brachium ipsa avare 35
consumeret; cum deus non potest providendo de illis
bonis deficere. Cum igitur notum sit, quod in istis
duabus filiis sanguisuge sit maius peccatum, tam avare
retinendo hec bona, quam prodigaliter consumendo in
altera istarum parcium vel in utraque, restat correccio 40

4. vel *pro* aut *before* confundet C. 13. fuerint C. 15. fregi A.
20. cum C. 22. Palliatum A. 35. quare B.

25. *Sua*. Probably *propositio* is understood.

huius iniurie. Sed cum notum sit quod huiusmodi defectus stat magis in clero, tota ecclesia debet correccioni isti intendere. Ex parte autem brachii secularis, patet quod ipsum habet precipuum interesse. Nam omnia
 5 illa temporalia dominia que clerus occupat, debent alteri brachio pertinere; et suum est bona sua requirere, tum, quia dedit illis deus potestatem coactivam ad talia requirendum, tum etiam quia talium excommunicatorum ministerium inficit ecclesiam, et specia-
 10 liter ex consensu. Unde, quia scola diaboli est ordo nimis preposterus severe invadere alia regna, ad que vix habemus scintillam iuris, et in facie nostra permittere anticristum sacrilege consumere bona nostra: non dubium quin diabolus sic cecat et vecordat ec-
 15 clesiam.”

Item constat ex fide, quod Cristus sic ordinavit clerum suum totum vivere vitam pauperem expropriarie, et illa ordinacio plurimum est eversa, clero occupante dominia que ex dei ordinacione debent adiacere brachio
 20 seculari. Igitur reges, qui secundum Augustinum sunt dei vicarii, debent rectificare dei iniuriam. Et hinc dicit Augustinus, ut recitatur 15 q. 4^a ca^o *Quicumque*, quod beatus Aurelius debuit iure poli restituere cuidam layco redditus, quos dedit ecclesie sue. Nec dubium
 25 quin eadem est ratio de omnibus possessionatis clericis; et sic excommunicative et sacrilege detinent aliena. Quantum ad assumptum, patet quod pusillus grex apostolorum secundum formam quam Cristus instituit, debuit esse exemplar et origo tocius posterioris ecclesie cristiane; sed Cristus eos instituit instar sui in summa
 30 pauperie. Ideo superiores de clero debent sic vivere. Unde Cristus non aptavit eis officium quod requireret expensas alias seculares, sed licet omnis cristianus debet ex fide usque ad mortem defendere istam sententiam
 35 cum sequentibus, tamen tanta est anticristi perfidia quod post lapsum cesareum quo diabolice sunt dotati, ista fides cum suis sequentibus contempnitur vel glossatur. In tantum quod maior infidelitas regnat inter nos nomine cristianos quam inter sectas paganicas,
 40 quas maxime detestamur. Ipsi enim fatentur Cristum K. fuisse prophetam eximium, sed non deum. Sed quan-

The clergy being most to blame, the whole Church must remedy this; and chiefly the secular powers, to whom all ecclesiastical possessions belong by right, and who possess the might to coerce the clergy. It is blindness to invade kingdoms to which we have very little right, and to suffer Antichrist thus to devour us at home.

Our faith teaches that the clergy ought to live without possessions;

and kings, vicars of God, should redress this wrong.

The case quoted by Augustine is that of the whole clergy: they ought to make restitution. Christ's

Apostles were the pattern of the clergy;

so the latter should live in poverty, like the former.

Every Christian should uphold this belief, even unto death;

yet, worse than Mahometans who deny

Christ's divinity, but follow many of his laws,

6, 7. relinquere B. 7. tamen A. 8. tamen A. 16. sic *deest* BD.
 22. 17 BC. 23. Dei B. 26. excommunicate C; *ib.* tenet A; *ib.*
 arenam A 36. quod A. 39. nos *deest* C.

we assert his
divinity, but
refuse to obey
him,

following
neither his
example nor his
precepts.
And the Friars,
whose
profession of
poverty should
have made
them the
foremost to
defend this, are
backsliders,
and do all they
can to uphold
the other side.

But notwith-
standing the
devil, it is clear
that
ecclesiastical
possessions, in
so far as they
go beyond what
is necessary, is
mere spoliation
of the poor.

They are but
ministers to the
wants of the
poor, who have
a right to be
helped by
them; and as
they fail in
in this duty,
the secular
lords should
do theirs.

For these
possessions
belong to them;
and it is
strange that
they should
grind the poor
when their
own treasury is
in the devil's
hands.

They seize
upon crumbs
and leave the
whole loaf
untouched.

tum ad multas leges suas ipsi credunt ipsas nobis per-
feccius et observant. Nos, inquam, voce dicimus Cristum
esse deum et hominem, sed vitam suam in facto sper-
nimus, et maiorem partem legis sue tanquam falsam
et irrationabilem denegamus; sic quod tollerabilior 5
foret blasfemia negare deitatem Cristi et servare eius
mandata et consilia, ut pagani. Nos, inquam, dupli-
cantes mendacia plus opere blasfemamus; quia nec
volumus defendere vitam Cristi, nec verba. In tantum
quod fratres, quorum professio | atque perfeccio foret 10 81^b
excellenter defendere Cristi pauperiem callidius, tanquam
sophiste diabolici retrocedunt. Licet autem constat ex
fide scripture et sensu quod per declinacionem cleri
ad seculum religio Cristi et fides subvertitur, tamen
tam fratres quam possessionati diligenter laborant quo 15
possent in terrenis seculares dirripere, et partem suam
per terrores diaboli et blasfemam yppocrisim confir-
mare. Sed pars Cristi invito diabolo magis claret quam
totum quod clerus occupat preter necessarium ad sui
ministerium: et hoc ex titulo elemosine secularium est 20
iniustum, et per consequens iniuste occupant predia
temporalia preter necessaria popularibus oppressis in-
opia.

Item, quecunque temporalia que clerus possiderit,
sunt bona pauperum, ut hic suppono. Sed de omnibus 25
bonis pauperum debent esse indifferentes ministri et
fideles dantes prout unicuique opus erat; ergo de omni-
bus bonis cleri debet esse particio; et per consequens,
pauperibus de populo magis egentibus, debet illis de
ipsis bonis comunibus cleri distribui. Cum igitur clerus 30
in hoc deficit, restat quod domini seculares debent
distribucionem huiusmodi ordinare. Ipsorum enim sunt
elemosine, ipsas debent dominacionis titulo gubernare,
et clerum occupantem ista sic sacrilege de alienis, in-
consulto anticristo, precipue spoliare. Quis igitur spiri- 35
tus moveret homines seculares sic rapere pauperes et
egenos, dum thesaurus suus iacet in manu diaboli?
Quem thesaurum debent secundum legem domini ordi-
nare. Idem videtur ac si sathan, religioni Cristi ad-
versans, buccellas edentis diriperet, et pastum integrum 40

7, 8. duplices A. 15. cum pro tam omnes MSS. 27. unicuique B;
cuique C: ib. igitur C. 28. cleri deest A. 31. temporales B. 34. sit A.
35, 36. spiritalis deest A: sanctus AB. 36. mon'et A. 37. aurarius C.
39. Ideo B.

quem facilius capere posset, dimitteret; deus indubie
 I. requireret ab illis rationem credite potestatis. Nec
 dubium quin ista sit causa quare tot dissensiones et
 murmura sunt in regnis; tum, quia in illa mamona
 5 comunitas ex particione iniqua comuniter magis peccat,
 ideo ratio exigit quod in illa comunius puniatur; tum
 etiam quia ab exemplacione cleri circa illam magis
 profunde afficitur. Ideo necesse est quod pugne, lites,
 contenciones et conversancium discordie sint comunius
 10 circa illam. Si enim clerus prepossessionatus regni
 nostri preposuisset hoc anno pedagium regi pro populo,
 quid necesse fuisset populum contra dominos tam in-
 debite surexisse? Nec dubium quin nulla tertia ecclesie
 immunis sit: comunitas, quia indebite et inpacienter
 15 homines omnis generis punierunt; et domini, quia bona
 pauperum inprovidie receperunt; et omnino clerus, tum
 quia pauperes de populo corporali subsidio non iuverunt.
 tum etiam, quia nec vulgares regum obedienciam do-
 cuerunt. Si enim episcopi et rectores etiam medietatem
 20 sui superflui ad illud dedissent laicis, tunc cum paribus
 totum illud dispendium precavissent. Et revera, ille cui
 sunt stercora temporalium cariora tanto bono pacis
 provincie proditorie occupat ipsa bona, et ille frater
 qui non vult docere populum quomodo de lege Cristi
 25 obediret dominis, ut patet de Cristo et suis apostolis.
 Cuius ratio videtur, quia non infert lucrum fratribus
 de vulgaribus, quos taliter hortarentur. Ille, inquam,
 frater modicum aut nichil hortaretur dominos tem-
 porales ad misericordiam super vulgus vel ipsum ad
 30 obedienter petendum misericordiam et serviendum do-
 minis, sicut fecit apostolus. Et ratione est quod pre-
 diligunt de ambobus contrariis plus bona sua tempo-
 ralia quam salvacionem et pacem mutuam, vel alia
 spiritualia bona dei. Et ideo sunt duplices et vecordes
 35 cum istis partibus, cum pars diaboli, que viam dei non
 graditur, sit perplexa.

Remedium igitur theoricum, si placeret deo ipsum
 per seculares homines roborari, foret ad stabilimentum
 sempiterne concordie et pacis ecclesie, quod defendant

No wonder
 that there are
 dissensions
 for the
 community
 shares both in
 the sin and in
 the punishment;
 and it is affected
 by the ill
 example of the
 clergy.

If this year
 the rich clergy
 had paid the tax
 for the poor,
 they would have
 had no need to
 revolt.

All classes were
 to blame here;
 the commons,
 for having
 acted wrongly;
 the nobles for
 having
 oppressed
 them; and the
 clergy
 especially, for
 having with-
 held their aid,
 and for not
 having taught
 them to obey
 the king,

nor the nobles
 to be merciful.

The reason is
 that the clergy
 preferred to
 enjoy their
 possessions.

The remedy
 would be to
 take away all
 ecclesiastical
 property

1. facillig A. 2. tradite C. 3. sint B. 9. sic A. 10. clerus pre-
 deest B. 11. gadagium A. 15. 16. quia — tum deest C. 20. pau-
 peribus AB. 23. occupant omnes MSS. 24. w^l A. 26. inferret B.
 27. wlgat^l A; *ib.* exhortarentur BC. 29. wlgu C; *ib.* ad *after* ipsum
 deest A. 31. ratio C; *ib.* quod deest A. 35. vita AB. 38. noborare B.

and to divide
it properly
amongst the
laity;
then we should
see a complete
regeneration of
the clergy.

ordinacionem Cristi in clero et populo, ut quod totus clerus vivat pure de elemosinis corporalibus temporalium, et illi vivant spiritualiter de elemosinis spiritualibus cleri Cristi. Sic quod omnia bona temporalia mortificata ecclesie inter seculares homines sagaciter 5 sint partita, et omnis turpis occupacio cleri circa hec temporalia ad prodessendum ecclesie 2^m spirituales elemosinas sit retorta. Tunc enim splenderet lux Cristi in regnis, et, toto clero vivente de decimis et oblationibus et privatis elemosinis, vulgares oppressi forent per 10 mortuorum de clero iam mortua a sua oppressione et miseria relevati; et qualibet parrochialia ecclesia habente discretum curatum, continuata forent in tribus membris ecclesie pax et amor.

But now we
see the results
of the contrary
system; the
clergy neglects
preaching due
obedience;
and in that
part of England
where they are
most powerful,
they are
most hated.

Nunc vero clerus, monstruose occupans ista dominia, 15 M. nec docet fidem scripture, quomodo infima pars ecclesie | debet dominis secularibus deservire; nec docet 82^a quomodo secundum coactivam potestatem subditi debent dominis in moderamine obedire; sed spoliant subiectos crudelius domino temporalis. Unde in signum vastitatis 20 huius doctrine duplicis illa pars Anglie in qua clerus monstruosius dominatur. ab ista religione magis silvestricat. Nam naturali instinctu tam innaturale et diabolicum monstrum in clero totus populus abhorreret.

Such action on
the part of the
secular powers
is not only a
right but a
duty; and
Antichrist
cannot resist;
if they had the
right to give,
they have the
right to take.
If God's law
could be put
down, why
should it not
be set up again?

Nec dubium quin nedum licet sed est debitum do- 25 minis temporalibus taliter ordinare; nam omittendo foveant symoniacos et sacrilegos hostes suos nequissimos, ordinationem domini infideliter reversantes. Quomodo igitur prevalet anticristus huic parti Cristus contrarius? Si enim phas est dominis temporalibus stulte dotando 30 ecclesiam dissolvere legem Cristi, quomodo non merentur dissolvendo traditiones infundabiles anticristi? Sed lex dei in ordinatione cleri sui non habet tantum robur, quin potuit dissipari; quomodo lex contraria ad tantum perpetuatur ex verbis falsis anticristi oppositis, 35 quod nulli liceat in perpetuum huic traditioni fatue contraire? Nam mandatum domini est matrem ecclesiam 2^m ordinationis sue pulcritudinem honorare; mandatum anticristi est illam pulcritudinem dissipare. Et 3^o si

And should
any individual
resist this
change,
Parliament can
enforce it.

8. lex AC. 12. revelati A. 33. hūit A; habuit C. 35. ex vii^b
anti^z flū A. 37. contrarie AB; contrariare C. 38. ordinationes A.

secundum mendacia et fictam yppocrisim privata persona regni decepta ordinacioni dei ad deturpacionem ecclesie repugnauit, quomodo non liceret toti regno, secundum mandatum dei, in parlamento publico ad
 5 totius regni subsidium se iuvare? Deus itaque necessitat regnum nostrum publice ordinare, ut, cum tota possessione secularis domini occupata per clerum ab eo extracta, ipsius regni necessitas releuetur: sed sub ista
 10 condicione opposita, quod status pauperum regni, subductis taliagiis et eorum spoliacionibus, congrue conservetur. Ista autem condicio continuari posset facilius quam cleri dotati condicio servatur, ad fideliter seruiendum deo, ecclesie et patrono.

Under this condition, however: that tallages should be abolished, and the poor no longer robbed.

Sed procul a regno nostro huius propositi sancti
 15 omissio, ex terrore falsorum fratrum et clericorum de censuris sophisticis anticristi! Deus enim ipsum et apparenciam religionis sue debilitat, et in agresso plus ardui tam nostros quam anticristi domesticos refocillat.

Let us not fear the censures of Antichrist; he is now weakened by the power of God.

N. Diabolus autem primo necessitat principes huius seculi
 20 ex pietate ceca gravare sarcina secularis dominii clerum, qui alia via debet sequi Cristum pauperrimum, sic quod per yppocrisim plus simulant sanctitatem huius facinoris, quam Cristus sanccivit pauperiem sui ordinis; et sic principes plus quam subtripulum perdiderant sine
 25 spe conquestus super diabolum de paternis heredibus sive regnis. 2^o, habita ista radice discordie, accendit superbam invidiam dictorum principum, ut plus patribus suis seuiant in fratres exteros, et in causa patris mendacii, dimissa causa leui et utili, necessitetur con-

But the devil compels secular princes 1. to burden the clergy with possessions,

2. to attack foreign lands in defence of the father of lies;

30 sumere se et sua. Et 3^o, cum superbia filiorum diaboli ascendit semper, nec ad hoc suppetunt dictis principibus bona propria, cum redditus derimuntur et expense gravancius, necessitantur spoliare intollerabiliter tenentes pauperes; sic quod ipsis vel cede vel inopia interentis,
 35 necesse sit dictos principes cum regnis suis deficere. Ad hoc enim laborat semper diabolus ut usque ad extinctionem propriam redarguat discipulos scole sue. In omnibus autem istis laborat, cautelam sensui, semper simulans sanctitatem et spem ac confidenciam de ter-

and 3. when by this means their revenue is exhausted, to plunder their poor tenants

most intolerably. The latter die of hunger or by the sword, and the princes come to ruin. It is thus that the devil works to destroy his

2. de deest C. 5. necessitet BC. 10. spociacoib C. 14. facti A.
 15. exteriore omnes MSS. 18. r'focillat A. 22. quod yppocrisim plus C.
 26. attendit AC. 27. et B 27, 28. prioribus B. 28. fines C.
 29. causale B. 31. huc A. 32. diminuuntur A. 38. sensibili AC;
 insensibili B.

own followers,
cautiously at
first, but with
utter ruin in
the end.

And worst of
all, secular
princes are
moved by their
own enemies to
persecute the
faithful as
heretics.

The king should
command all
prelates and
learned doctors
in his kingdom
to speak truly
what they
think in this
matter.
But it is to be
feared that
princes will be
blind, since no
warnings have
as yet opened
their eyes.

Seven heads of
a petition.

1. That England
should obey no
See, unless such
obedience
agrees with
Christ's law.

2. That no
money should
be sent to
Rome or to
Avignon, unless
it is proved to
be due by Holy
Writ.

3. That no man
should enjoy
any benefice,
unless resident
and employed

renis. Sed in fine precipitat suos [in] inconueniens quod
evitant. Causa autem tocius huius malicie est perversa
deordinacio clericorum, cum plus aptantur per mun-
dum atque diabolum ut sint discipuli anticristi, quam
ut 2^m legem apostolicam militent domino Jesu Cristo. 5

Et super hec omnia diabolus ad tantum cecavit do-
minos seculares quod credunt inimicis suis domesticis
infundabiliter contrariantibus huic sentencie et iuvant
tacite, ut anticristus cum suis fideles defendentes et
moventes istam sentenciam tanquam hereticos perse- 10
quantur.

O si rex vellet cunctis prelatiis sui regni et doctori-
bus habilibus sub gravi pena iniungere quod dicant in
isto 2^m legem domini veritatem, subducta lege cesarea
et tradicionibus frivolis anticristi! Sed timetur quod in 15
penam inveterate malicie demon per sua organa sic
obtundit affectus et cecat intellectus principum; quo
usque tam fides Cristi quam regni prosperitas sint
prostrata. Nam nec verba nec scripta fidelium nec a
deo missum frequens periculum movent vel evigilant 20
anticristum, nisi deo placeat ex speciali gracia suscitare
et excitare principes ad defendendum propriam regaliam.

*Septem inprecationes ad tutelam regni Anglie per eius
proceres exequende.*

Quod rex aut regnum nulli sedi vel prelato obediant, | 25
nisi de quanto ex fide scripture sonat in obedienciam 82^a
domino Jesu Cristo. Patet, quia aliter preponeretur Cristo
in obediencia anticristus. Omnis enim obediencia, que
non fit Cristo, fit anticristo, quia Luce 11^o. *Qui non* Luc.
est mecum adversum me est. XI, 23

Quod nec curie Romane, nec Avinoniensi nec alicui
extere emittatur regni pecunia, nisi doceatur hoc esse
debitum ex scriptura. Patet: quia aliter foret rapina
lupi rapacis, quem Cristus Matth. 7^o dicit esse a fructi- Matth.
bus cognoscendum. VII, 16

Quod nec cardinalis nec alius habeat fructum ecclesie
vel prebende de Anglia, nisi vel rite resideat, vel
occupetur legitime in causa a regni procuratoribus

1. suos *deest* A; *ib.* in *deest omnes* MSS. 2. tocius *deest* A; *ib.* huius-
modi malicie C. 7. in istis A. 8. ut C. 9. defendentes *deest* A.

13. humilibus A; *hilibus* C. 23. a⁶³ *īpēcacōē* A; Septem inprecationes ad
cautelam regni C; *ib.* pro A. 25. autem A; *ib.* obiāt A; obediāt C.

31. timore *pro* curie A; *ib.* nec *before* avinoniensi *deest* C; *ib.* animo vice A.
38. procoribus A; proceribus C.

racionaliter approbata. Patet: quia aliter non intraret per Cristum, sed aliunde ascenderet ut anticristi discipulus per traditiones seculi, et tanquam latro predaretur regnum in subiectis pauperibus sine equivalencia reconpense; quod rex et regnum tenentur destruere et suos a ferocioribus inimicis defendere.

Quod regni comunitas non oneretur talagiis insuetis, antequam totum patrimonium, quo clerus dotatur, deficiat. Patet, quia omnia ista sunt bona pauperum caritative exponenda ad eorum egenciam, vivente clero in perfeccione primarie paupertatis.

Quod, quocunque episcopo vel curato dotato de Anglia in contemptum dei notorie incidente, nedum liceat regi, sed teneatur sua temporalia confiscare. Patet, quia aliter regnum infideliter postponeret Cristum regi, eius contemptum ponderans plus quam Cristi.

Quod rex nullum episcopum vel curatum mancipet suo ministerio seculari. Patet: quia aliter tam rex quam clerus foret proditor Jesu Cristi.

Quod rex nullum propter moram in excommunicatione incarceret, antequam 2^m legem dei mora illa sit docta esse illicita. Patet: quia sepe excommunicantur multi inprovide, ubi 2^m legem dei et ecclesie debeant excommunicationem perpetuo tollerare; et autorisare incarcerationem hominis propter hoc quod facit ut debet, foret opus demonii meridiani.

Contraria autem istorum, licet sint insensibilia non curata, tamen nimis confundunt rempublicam, quia res insensibiles parvipense sunt maxime in vigore.

1. Ut patet A. 7. non deest A. 8. 9. deficiatur A.

in a legitimate and approved manner.

4. That the Commons should not be burdened with tallages, until all the possessions of the clergy be exhausted.

5. That the king's duty is to confiscate the temporalities of any notoriously wicked Bishop.

6. That the king should employ no ecclesiastic in secular business.

7. That no one should be imprisoned because excommunicated, until it be proved that the sentence is according to God's law.

CAPITULUM OCTAVUMDECIMUM.

The last
tormentor is
the questor.

This class,
living viciously,
robbing the
people,
and preaching
falsehoods
about
indulgences,
troubles the
commonwealth.
Canon law in
many places
provides against
the abuse of
their functions,

and against
their evil
behaviour.

Yet these laws,
not being
applied, are of
no use: it were
therefore better
to do away
with the
questorship.
It is impossible
for the Pope or
any Bishop to

Sequitur de ultimo tortore tractandum. Questores A.
autem multipliciter perturbant rempublicam, scilicet
criminaliter conversando, cum sint mechi comuniter et
viciosi multifarie communiter. 2^o fraudulenter spoliant 5
populum propter causam multiplicem nequius quam
raptores. Et 3^o, quod est pessimum, fraudant plebem
infideliter, superinduentes perfidias de indulgentiis et
iuvaminibus mortuorum.

Et licet papa cum ecclesia percepit eorum fallacias, 10
tamen propter pecuniam ex cautela diaboli symoniace
defenduntur. Scribitur enim 5^o decretalium de peniten-
ciis et remissionibus, ca^o *Cum ex eo*: "Questores non
debent admitti nisi apostolicas, vel diocesani episcopi,
litteras veras exhibeant; et tunc preter illud quod in 15
ipsis literis continebitur, nichil populo proponere per-
mittantur". Et ibi notatur forma indulgentiarum. Et
ibidem infra precipitur quod questores debent esse
modesti et discreti, nec in tabernis aut in aliis locis
inhonestis hospitentur; nec inutiles aut sumptuosas 20
faciant expensas. Et in Clementinis de penitentiis et
remissionibus, in ca^o *Abusionibus*, inculcatur hoc idem.
Et superadditur quod episcopi diocesani diligenter exami-
nant literas apostolicas, ne quid fraudis in eis committatur.

Quid, inquam, valet, tot contra questores statuere, 25
et eorum execucionem dimittere? Ideo videtur quod
sunt simpliciter abrogandi, cum propter eorum pro-
mulgaciones non edificatur ecclesia, et per consequens
nusquam debent admitti, cum nulli apostolicas vel
diocesani episcopi litteras veras exhibeant; et ut logici 30

1. Cam 18 in red ink A. 2. Initial S in red ink A. 5. cong A; con-
sequenter C. 10, 17. pernecessitantur A; pretermittantur C. 25. contra
tot C. 30. et deest C.

13. Decr. Greg. lib. V, tit. 38, c. 14. 22. Decr. Clem. V, 9, 2.

obiciunt, non est in potestate eorum precise illud quo in ipsis literis continetur, populo proponere; nec forma morum eis iniuncta est in episcopi potestate. Ideo excedit potestatem pape et cuiuscunque conversantis episcopi prescindere ab eis, tam intencione quam opere, symoniacam pravitatem et illusionem populi in verbis superfluis et infidelibus. Et sic ad regem et dominos temporales pertinent tales questores et alios predictos raptore excludere.

put a stop to these abuses; this therefore becomes the duty of the secular powers.

10 Probatur sic. Rex, cum sit servus et tenens Cristi, aliquid debet ut sic sibi facere; sed nichil, si non gubernare eius populum 2^m legem suam; ergo illud officium 2^m modum suum debet exequi propter Cristum. Et ad hoc sonant multe leges humane, et specialiter dictum apostoli ad Rom. 13, qui dicit quod propterea *habent potestatem a deo*. Ut Luce 19, ille cuius omnia opera sunt ecclesie exemplaria operandi intravit Jerusalem ut rex, et destruxit symoniaca comercia sacerdotum.

Proofs. The king, being Christ's lieutenant, ought as such to govern the people according to his law.

20 Item, proportionaliter ut homo debet plus diligere B. debet eius contemptus plus odiri. Sed ex primo mandato | decalogi Christus debet amari super omnia: ergo eius contemptus debet proportionaliter odiri. Sed cum in omni peccato Christus primo contempnitur, sequitur 25 quod omne peccatum debet odiri a quolibet, et specialiter a regibus propter Cristum. Sed quomodo odit peccatum, in cuius potestate est ipsum destruere et non facit? Consensus quidem est; cum iuxta sanctorum sententias, qui emendare potest et negligit, absque dubio 30 delicti participem se constituit. Nec valent anticristi excusaciones in hac parte, cum non debet esse lex, privilegium vel dignitas contra Cristum, cum si Lucifer incarnatus faceret contra Cristum, non obstante quod sit maioris dignitatis in natura quam satrape, omnes 35 fideles debent sibi resistere: ymmo si per impossibile angelus de celo impugnaret legem Cristi verbo vel opere, tota ecclesia debet sibi obstare. Potentatus itaque fideles, qui ex tanta mercede sunt Cristi tenentes et tam stricte sub gravi pena sibi obligati, debent se obicere contra 40 adversarios Cristi, quia aliter indubie infringunt primum

He should love Christ above all, and therefore not bear to see him treated with contempt. If he does, having the power to hinder it, he becomes guilty by consent.

Privileges and dignities are nothing here; if Lucifer, if an angel from Heaven, were to oppose Christ's law, he should be resisted.

But in these latter days men love themselves more than Christ.

1. illud *deest* B; id C. 3. 1. ex re de potestate A. 5. prescindere BC.
10. proditur A; proceditur B. 12. gubernaret B. 13. nomen B.
16. habet A; *ib.* Et *pro* Ut C. 17. extraria A. 24. omnia A; *ib.*
prius C. 29. que B. 33. in cart9 A. 40. ipsum *pro* primum B.

mandatum decalogi, cum illum cuius contemptum plus odiunt, magis diligunt. Sed secundum vaticinium apostoli: *In novissimis diebus sunt homines se ipsos amantes*, cum 2 Tim. ad vindicandum propriam iniuriam currunt precipites, III, 2 sed ad vindicandum iniuriam dei, quem debent supra se 5 ipsos diligere, sunt nimis desides, et sic dei proditores.

This would besides prove very useful from a temporal point of view

More than £ 100,000 annually go out of the kingdom by means of these 12 tormentors, especially the Roman Curia, wicked Bishops, bad priests, monks and friars.

If the king, in addition to his revenue, possessed all that money, the State would be prosperous

Thus not only spiritual but also temporal motives should persuade the Government to act prudently, but firmly.

No fear of censures should daunt them in taking Christ's part.

Item, loquendo ad hominem, videtur quod propria regum utilitas necessitaret ad dei iniuriam vindicandum. Nam 2^m notantes statum regni nostri, plus quam centum milia librarum rapiuntur per dictos tortores 12^{cim} 10 anuatim. Quod cum rex posset faciliter destruere, videtur quod ex stulta desidia gratis vult plus quam medietatem regni sui amittere. Et sic omnes perturbationes que exinde proveniunt, procurat implicate regno contingere: quod est alienum a regis officio. Unde de 15 illis XII tortoribus notant quinque qui sunt precipui filii regis superbie, scilicet: romana curia, episcopi perversi, curati qui non intrant per hostium apostatantes, religiosi possessionati, et 4^{or} secte fratrum. Si, inquam, totus thesaurus regni quem ipsi furtive rapiunt, foret servatus Cristo ad usus utiles regi et regno, tanta summa ut predicatur vel maior, preter thesaurum residuum regni nostri sibi cederet ad augmentum prosperitatis, ubi iam ipsum incit et perturbat. Et sic C. iuxta passionem marasmi necessitatur rex a suis membris, 25 viris regnicolis, temporalia sibi imprudenter extrahere. Et sic fidelitas debita Cristo, mandati sui observacio, et prosperitatis regni accumulacio moverent regem et eius consilium ad prudenter, constanter, et fortiter exequendum vindictam iniurie dei sui. Illam 30 autem iniuriam debet rex cum suo consilio ex isto convincere. Et ex fide vite Cristi et sue legis capiant quomodo clerus suus debet vivere; et quantum ex probacione sui operis ab illo exorbitat, impedimenta huius devii tanquam sua subtrahere; nec excomunicaciones vel alie censure fecte diaboli debent ab isto opere fideles principes exterrere. Quid, queso, an peccatum, vel creatura, vel aliquod nominandum impedirent fideles principes, ne contra diabolum teneant partem

2. amant *pro* diligunt B. 3. ipsos *deest* B. 9. sui A. 12. ut A.
16. que A. 17. filii *deest* A; *ib.* epi C. 19. a religione A. 24. ibi A.
5. ultra A. 26. veris C. 28. obficia A. 29. et *after* constanter
deest AB. 31. mirant A; *ib.* debent A. 32. quod ex fide vite BC;
ib. vitam B. 34. et impedimenta C. 37. ante B. 38. aliquid C.

Cristi? Scripta quidem satraparum, ut bulle vel litere
 mandati credi non excedunt ewangelium nec man-
 datum anticristi excedit auctoritatem vel mandatum
 domini Jesu Christi. Ewangelium autem credimus ex in-
 5 tegro esse verum, cum fuit dictatum ex sapientia in-
 creata. Sed scripta alia credimus ex instinctu diaboli,
 cum sint de scribentibus incognitis et plurimum viciata.
 Quid, queso, scit talis prelatus cesareus tantum a prac-
 tica elongatus, quod foret utilius et debitum tali ecclesie,
 10 ministrum quem ipse mandat suscipere? Ewangelium
 autem dicit quod operibus debemus credere. Sed sicut
 nescit de indulgentiis vel aliis suffragiis, que sompniat
 et stulte spondet quot vel quante sorciantur effectum;
 sic nescit si mandatum suum de suscipiendo talem
 15 ministrum sit ad utilitatem subditi adimplendum. Ideo,
 sicut oportet, secundum eorum ficticiam, quod habeant
 veras literas prelatorum, sic oportet secundum fidem
 quod habeant veras literas pontificis animarum. Ille
 autem litere sunt opera debita, que inspirat; nec oportet
 20 ante opera illa a populo edificato mercedem repetere,
 quia ministri Christi non sunt tam avidi sicut famuli
 anticristi. Et sic deordinatio presumpta ab anticristo,
 ordinacioni Christi contraria, inducit perturbaciones et
 dissensiones in Christi ecclesiam. Et, ut breviter dicatur,
 25 segnicius principum secularium et versucie satraparum
 depauperant fidem, spem et caritatem in vocato cri-
 stianismo plus quam in iudaysmo vel saracismo pro-
 scribitur.

Nec valet obieccio qua ydiote arguunt iuxta istud
 83^b 30 deficere clerum Christi; quia si in lege veteri | suffecit
 12^{cim} tribus clero tam onerato collacio decimarum,
 quanto magis in lege Christi sufficeret regno cuilibet
 multitudo cleri viventis in medio virtuoso, inter se-
 cularem dominacionem et mendicitatem, vivere in Christi
 35 pauperie ex oblacionibus et decimis, que sunt ob Christi
 D. amorem caritativius ministrare? Nec obest 2^a obieccio,
 qua dicitur multos sanctos statum istum tam verbo
 quam opere aprobasse et nitentes ipsum dirumpere,
 excommunicasse, quia intelligitur de dirupcione illicita.

No Bull is above
 the Gospel, nor
 is Antichrist
 above Christ.

How can a
 non-resident
 prelate know
 that such and
 such a
 minister whom
 he sends will
 do good to that
 Church?
 No more than
 he can know
 what effect his
 indulgences
 have.
 The letters that
 a questor ought
 to bear
 should be from
 Christ himself:
 then he would
 be less greedy
 for money.

The sloth of
 Christian
 princes and the
 cunning of bad
 prelates bring
 Christianity
 below
 Mahometanism.

It is absurd to
 object that the
 clergy would
 starve; if itles
 were
 sufficient in the
 old Law, how
 much better off
 the clergy
 would be now,
 neither lords
 nor beggars!
 Equally absurd
 is it to say that
 the present
 order has been
 approved by
 many Saints.

1. ewangelium credi omnes MSS. 7. distribuendis A; ib. plurium A;
 esse plurium B; plurim C 8. cesarius C 10. suscitare A 13. quod C;
 ib. forcentur A; sorciantur C. 15. sic C. 17. 18. prelatorium — pontificis
 deest A 18. heat C. 20. recipere A. 26. notato A. 26. iuxta deest A.
 36. ca'itatio A; ib. ministrare C. 38. vicentes A. 39. dirrupcione C.

Christ is the
Founder of our
law; all private
religions are
without
authority, and,
like the Koran,
contain good
mixed with evil.
Our religion
has, it is true,
been vitiated;
but its
substance
remains
eternally
immaculate.

Sed quicumque dirupit ordinacionem Cristi priorem in ista materia est a deo simpliciter maledictus. Ideo sit Cristus nobis auctor ordinis atque legis, et alii privati sequentes qui multipliciter peccaverunt sunt sine auctoritate Cristi autores primi tradicionum suarum omnium adiectarum. Et sicut lex et ordo sarracenica, ex multis bonis et illicitis sunt permixta. Exemplar autem ordinis nostri cristiani sit *lex domini immaculata*, licet ipsa religio sit ex pluribus tradicionibus adinventis in accidentibus plurimum viciata. Substantia autem nostri ordinis manet perpetue incontaminata, personis et modis agendi multipliciter maculatis. Melius igitur fuisset basim religionis constare, et privatos defectus personarum corrigi, quam propter personalia delicta tales ordines introduci.

Three
positions of
mine which are
attacked.
1. Concerning
the perfection
of the Religion
state.

Redeundo igitur per modum epilogi recitabuntur tres sentencie, quas adversarii videntur impugnare: Prima est de perfeccione status et ordinis; in qua materia superbi in sectis novellis magis insaniunt. Sed ne videar ex parvitate ingenii mei sententiam novam effundere, notemus quid dicit Lincolnensis in quadam notula quo ad istam materiam.

Grosseteste
quoted.
Christ our
model did not
abstain from
eating meat.

"Cum", inquit, "salvator modestus, exemplar conversacionis fidelium, manducans et hibens de sibi appositis docuit discipulos suos carnes comedere, que est prudentia hominum esum huiusmodi prohibere?"

We are now
more burdened
with ceremonial
observances
than in the
time of the
old Law.

"Comedit", inquit, "inter laicos; cuius oppositum faciunt yppocrite, domi comedentes, sed extra non; cum apostolum Galathas 2, libertas vere religionis stat in deobligacione Gal. II, ad ritus cerimoniales corporales introductos ex lege veteri, qui hodie supra legem veterem copiosius introducti dant cristianis occasionem ut omittatur fervor volitive potencie vel tepescat." "Graviter", inquit, "ferret apostolus nobiscum conversans, iam videns quod magis appreciamur tradiciones hominum, quam puram et necessariam legem Cristi. Sed quo ad gestus Cristi, patet quod utrobique sapiunt affabilitatem, mansue-

Christ's acts
were marked
by kindness,
meekness and
modesty.

1. dirupit C. 2. sit A; sic C. 3. autor AC 4. que B.
6. subiectarum B. 7. et illicitis *deest* C. 10. accidentalibus C.
12. autem B. 11. qua AC. 14, 15. introducti B. 16. Reddendo A.
17. impugnari C. 23. modestus exemplar *deest* C. 25. suos *deest* BC;
ib. Lincolnensis de esu carnum *in marg.* B. 26. homi esum homi
(sic) C. 29. 2 *deest* AB. 30. introductas C. 31. que omnes MSS.
31, 32. introducte omnes MSS. 32. accusacionem A; *ib.* furor A.

tudinem et modestiam. Affabilitas patet ex dulci collo-
 quio cum samaritana Joh. 4. cum cananea, cum
 Magdalena Lu. 7^o. de Martha et paciente fluxum, de
 accusata de adulterio Joh. 8. de mulieribus ipsum se-
 E. 5 quentibus, de quibus sumptus suscepit Luc. 9^o. Item
 Luc. de peccatoribus, de predestinatis, Nicodemo phariseo,
 VIII. 3 Joh. 3^o. Zacheo publicano, Luc. 19, et multis aliis; et
 de parvulis quos voluit libere accedere, et complectens
 et inponens manus ab illis voluit laudari. Sed comuni-
 10 cando cum phariseis et prescitis durissime sed modeste
 eos redarguit, ut patet Matth. 23; in exemplum quod
 nos, cum illis conversando, non applaudamus peccatis
 eorum, facti eorum participes, sed dure eos increpando
 ac vicia exprobrando, servata caritate et dilectione
 15 nature, debeamus nunc lucide et nunc tenebrose cum
 triplici manerie peccatorum de quibus speramus emen-
 das gravaminum commisceri: scilicet cum potentibus
 aut publicanis ac dominis et ministris mundo, cum
 20 mollious muliebriter indutis, qui ad peccata carnis
 generaliter inclinantur, et cum mundialiter superbienti-
 bus, iocose lascivientibus, excecatis ceca superbia, ut
 parvuli." "Omne", inquit, "quod est in mundo est
 aliquod horum trium. His, inquam, instar Cristi de-
 bemus esse affabiles, hortantes fugere vicia et prosequi
 25 opera virtuosa." Ex istis dictis huius sancti patet quod
 debemus communicare cum ista 3^{ci} manerie hominum,
 modis suis, secundum quod credimus ad honorem dei
 et profectum ecclesie plus prodesse. "Non", inquit, "de-
 bemus noscendo nostram fortitudinem, comunicacionem
 30 peccatorum auffugere, cum Cristus manducavit cum
 peccatoribus, ut peccata deleret, ac cum eis pernoctavit,
 Matth. 9; cum familiaribus ut eorum devocionem nutritret,
 Jo. 12; et cum phariseis, ut eorum superbiam confutaret,
 ut patet Luc. 7^o, ubi phariseum in comparacione magni-
 35 tudine corripuit in 3^{bus}, in quibus ipsa prevaluit, scilicet
 in non locione pedum, in non affleccione ostensa per
 osculum, et in non hilaritate signata per oleum."

He rebuked
 sinners
 severely indeed,
 but with
 moderation, as
 an example to us
 in our dealings
 with the three
 kinds of
 sinners: those
 in power, those
 given to sins of
 the flesh, and
 those prone to
 worldly pride.

We must not
 therefore avoid
 communication
 with them, but
 endeavour to
 do them good;
 Christ ate with
 sinners to blot
 out their sins,
 with his
 disciples, to
 increase their
 devotion, and
 with Pharisees,
 to confound
 their pride.

1. duplici AC. 2. chananea C; *ib.* vel *pro* cum *after* cananea A.
 3. luc' VI C. 4. Joh. 8 *deest* B. 5. sus *deest* C. 6. de *before*
 peccatoribus *deest* B; *prius* de *supra* *lineam* *suppl.* C; *ib.* de *deest* B.
 9. Cum *pro* Sed B. 10. dimissive A. 11. arguit C. 15. licite AC.
 17. guami A; *ib.* videlicet B. 18. ac C; *ib.* ut *pro* ac BC. 20. ori-
 ginaliter AB. 23. inquit AB. 28. inquam *omnes* MSS. 31. patet
deest BC. 34. 35. magne A; magdalene C. 35. scilicet *deest* A.
 37. non in AB; *ib.* in *deest* C.

It is thus no new thing to have communication with apostates in order to reprove them.

They are at fault on three points: their religion, the Eucharist and Penance, of none of which they know the essence.

A private religion is to the law of Christ as the law of a particular State is to the principles of political law. Both savour of sin.

The rules of such religions are a foolish remedy for men spiritually ailing.

It is possible to be saved in these religions, but with difficulty.

All their rules and traditions can be shown to imply blasphemy; therefore the elect amongst them give them up before the hour of death.

Hec Lincolnienſis. Ex iſtis dictis huius ſancti patet quod non eſt novitas inaudita, ſed ſententia eterna antiqua dierum quod comunicando cum phariſeis apoſtatis debemus accute eorum verſucias reprobare. Et cum non habent unde doceant noſtram ſententiam eſſe 5 falſam, debemus conſtanter in incepta | ſententia per- 84^a manere. 3^a enim ſunt in quibus claudicant, quiditatem et paſſionem ſentencie ignorantes: ſcilicet, religionis ſue, ſacramenti altaris, et ſacramenti penitencie quiditates; quibus ignoratis necesse eſt ipſos ſequentia 10 ignorare. Si enim vellent iſtorum quiditates ſupponere ſive diſcutere, tunc poſſent in ſequentia evidenter procedere. Sed non audent.

F.

Ego enim voco privatam religionem vel ordinem ſectam novellam ex regulis vel tradicionibus hominum 15 non pure ewangelio ſtabilitam: ſic quod religio proportionaliter ſe habet ad regulam Criſtianam, ſicut omne civile dominium ſe habet ad legem politicam. Et ita ſicut omne civile dominium ſapit peccatum, ſic omnis novella religio ſapit ad minimum veniale. 20 Nec ſciunt cultores iſtius defendere quin ſit medicina fatua pro debilibus adinventā; fatua quidem, cum ſupra ewangelium dant multas medicinales regulas, que peccatum ſapiunt vel errorem; ymmo ſicut natura prevalet regule medicine, ſic ewangelium prevalet ſupra 25 omnes tradiciones hominum adinventas. Ideo omnes iſte ſecte novelle inevitabiliter fundantur in multiplici errore, licet (difficilius) poſſent ex immenſitate gracie Criſti in talibus ſectis regnum celorum adquirere.

Difficilius dico, quia licet facilitantur in aliquo, tamen 30 ſunt magis ſimpliciter difficultati. Unde regula Criſti ad peccata evitandum eſt pocior quam aliqua regula adinventā; patet, proponendo in lucem regulam Criſti cum illis tradicionibus adinventis. Et ſic, expreſſa eorum regula cum tradicionibus conglobatis, manifeſte patet 35 quod pauci vel nulli evaderent quin ſaperent expreſſe blaſphemam. Et hinc nolunt dare eſſenciales differencias vel totum regule ſue ambitum, per quas privati ordines militando ſic erronee ab aliis diſtingwantur. Et hinc predeſtinati eorum, vel in morte vel ante, renunciant 40 iſtis regulis, religioni criſtiane ſimplici innitendo.

7. claudicant *deest* B. 16. sed *pro* sic AB. 17. Cristianam *deest* AC. 18. omne *deest* AC. 19. ista A. 25. ultra A; super C. 32. evacuandum BC. 33. pateret C. 36. sapant A.

Forma autem in probacionibus regule novelle patet ex dictis de 3^{ci} lege papali. Primo, quomodo illi quibus provisum est debent preponi ex ca^o *Si duobus*, de rescriptis, in 6^o. Secundo, quomodo singuli cristiani debent semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et soli, peccata sua singula confiteri, ut patet in lege: *Omnis utriusque sexus*. Et 3^o, quomodo excommunicacio offendencium in cardinales et alios debet fieri, ut patet in lege de penis, ca^o *felicis memorie* 6^o. Non enim patroni privatorum istorum ordinum presumerent se dare reccius medicamina contra culpam quam regulat curia romana in talibus.

Ideo, attendendo ad tempus obligacionis, ad varietatem secte obligate et ad penam que in offendentes infligitur, patet quod stulte medicina Cristi postponitur. Et cum non mediocriter peccat qui maiori bono postposito minus eligit, manifeste videtur quod omnes dicte secte inevitabiliter peccant, eligendo traditiones huiusmodi adinventas. Securius quidem foret inniti medicine quam Cristus instituit contra peccatum mundi, peccatum carnis atque diaboli, quam taliter incarcerari in clauastro, vel taliter 2^m privatas observancias regulari, vel taliter 2^m formas tegumentorum generaliter coaptari. Unde patet ad oculum quod regule secundum quas secte tales reficiuntur, cum eadem sit ratio in omnibus illis sectis, stulte et inprovidē, ubi est rationis conformitas, tam varie seminantur. In cuius signum: in regula Cristi non potest notari defectus, sicut nec in observancia regule cristiane. In illis autem privatis ordinibus et regulis detectis in luce, crebrius patet error. Et istum errorem tangit Lincolniensis ubi supra; ut patet luce clarius sedule indaganti. Quomodo, queso, procederent a deo tales regule, cum sit supra potestatem hominum illa statuere sic perpetuo? Cur pro toto tempore Cristi, et tot centenariis annorum sine observancia fuerant ociose? Aut que ratio, quare unus religiosus obligatur ad libram panis in die, ad amenam vini, et non comedere carnes quadrupedum, et non quilibet eque aptus? Unde

It is foolish nay, criminal to prefer man's remedies to those of Christ.

Better follow the rules which He gave against the world the flesh and the devil, than to be shut up in a coavent.

In Christ's law and in Christianity there are no defects, whereas there are many in private religions. And if so, how could they proceed from Divine inspiration? Why, should one man be compelled to strict abstinence, and not another?

4. quod C. 8. preteri C. 9. in *pro* memorie A. 15. et *deest* A.
15. peccant A. 17. mentaliter B. 19. peccatum *before* carnis *deest* C.
20. vel *deest* B. 27. sed C. 36. amenam omnes MSS.

3. Decr. Clem. II., tit. 5, c. 1. 6. See p. 112, note. 9. Sext. Decr. V, tit. 9, c. 5. *Felicis recordationis*. 11. *In talibus*. I am at a loss to see what this paragraph has to do with what precedes or what follows. Only the first canon, *Si duobus*, &c. can have any bearing upon the Friars. 36. *Amenam*. i. e. heminam. See Du Cange.

infeccionem istarum tradicionum insinuat varietas dispensandi. Et eadem obieccio est de quolibet in lege privata explicite supra ewangelium.

If it be said that these orders are only a collection of observances to aid in following Christ's law, it is true that some observances are necessary, but not *for ever*: and it is that perpetuity which constitutes a sect. The Founders of the Sects may have imposed this as a law, out of blind piety: they may have intended their rules to be observed only as helps to true religion, but then there would have been no sects: all Christians are obliged to follow them in so far.

Et si dicatur quod illi privati ordines non sunt nisi ritus ewangelium practisandi, quales ritus habuerunt apostoli, et illos contingit meritorie practisare: respon- deo concedendo quod necesse est, quam diu hic vivimus, practisare ritus in genere: cum, ut dicit Augustinus, "Sacrilégum foret negare simpliciter omnes ritus". Sed H. notanda est diferencia servandi illos ritus pro loco et tempore, et unam sectam perpetuo obligari ad indiffinite ipsos servandum. Nec sine tali sensu constitueret novam regulam plus quam quicumque ritus apostoli sive sancti. Et sic posset intelligi quod patroni privatorum ordinum habuerunt singulares ritus, quorum observacio videbatur eis expediens: et ceca pietate voluerunt unam sectam ipsos sequentem illos ritus perpetuo ut ewangelium observari: quam stulticiam non expedit excusare. Quod si condicionaliter intenderent quod illos ritus observent, de quanto promovent ad observanciam | legis Cristi, patet quod non exinde resultaret secta sive religio novella, cum eque obligantur ad illam veritatem condicionatam seculares et singuli cristiani. Ideo observancia privatorum ordinum monet quod patroni eorum non taliter intenderent. Nec expedit nobis discutere, sive culpa sit plus in patronis istorum ordinum, quam in personis de secta sua sequentibus: quia indubie, qui credit patronos illos tantum errasse vel amplius, non blasfemat: quia Paulus prius fuit blasfemus, ut ipsemet testatur: postmodum se correxuit. Et sic supponi debet, ut supra, quod dum sic cece erraverant et iam sunt in celo, ut credimus, revocarunt: potest enim esse, quod in credendo ritus istos prodesset toti secte simpliciter erraverunt; et potest esse quod in sequentibus sue secte fuit culpa gravior. Unum tamen scio, quod venenum in istis privatis ordinibus stat in obligacione illibertante nimis profunda, quo ad illa que possent, illa dimissa, bene fieri. Ut, verbi gracia, licite et meritorie contingit hominem auffugere monetam tangere,

Perhaps they retracted their error, and are, as we believe, in Heaven: perhaps they were merely mistaken, and their followers were more to blame than they. One thing is certain: that they went too far in restraining individual liberty.

1. inperfeccionem C; *ib.* insynuat A; *ib.* varietates B. 2. est *deest* B.
12. observandum B. 14. potest C. 15. observancia C. 16. et ex BC;
ib. tota *pro* ceca C. 17. perpetue C. 25. 26. si in culpa sit pluralitas A. 26. culpa *deest* B. 29. fuit *deest* AC *corr.* B. 30. postquam B. 35. verum A.

sicut verisimiliter Cristus non tetigit; sed quod religio-
sus pro nunquam tangat in casu aliquo sub pena
apostasie, horribilis foret observancia, blasphemiam sapiens,
et per consequens infundabilis in scriptura; et
5 nullo modo licite religionis particula, quia implicat
condicionem quam deus non potest perficere. Quod si
ista fecerit, tunc sic peccat et tollit libertatem quam
deus instituit, sicut Lincolniensis tangit.

Et ita inculcata fuit seducta generalior ecclesia, do-
10 tando contra ordinacionem Cristi perpetuo particulares
ecclesias. 2^o ex eadem cecitate fuit introducta posses-
sionatorum religio. Et 3^o introducta est non minus
culpabiliter mendicantium religio, postquam cassatis
prioribus, si deus voluerit, reddibitur generaliter ad
15 religionem simplicem cristianam. Omnes enim iste sapi-
unt in isto blasphemiam, quod statuunt tradicionem
suam ut optimam pro perpetuo observandam, ac si
forent domini temporis perpetui et omnium suarum
vicissitudinum variarum, quod soli deo est proprium.
20 Ideo, cum tollunt libertatem quam deus gracieose con-
cesserat, qua expedit nunc 2^m unum ritum, et nunc
secundum alium viare, ipsi stulte limitant 2^m regulas
anticristi, extollendo se super deum nostrum, perpetuo
sic viare: ut sicut dotans ecclesiam particularem illi-
25 bertat se et genus suum ad dandum et subtrahendum
1. elemosinas corporales, ut expedit, sic in religionibus
privatis illibertantur ad nunc dimittendum et nunc
assumendum ritus secundum exigenciam rationis. Et
per hec patet quam frivola est quarundam sectarum
30 observancia. Quedam secte abhorrent fratres suos tan-
quam graves apostatas, qui crucem monete tangere
parvipendunt; sed inventa moneta mediante panno vel
chirotheca tangere dicunt licere, sicut perforata vel
perfracta cum maleo vel cultello; sed inordinatam
35 affectionem in animo phariseice parvipendunt. Et iusti-
ficare hanc regulam non subiaceret potestati divine.

Et per hoc tollitur instantia qua obiciunt hec licere.
Hoc, inquit, observare per aliquantum tempus, est
licitum, et per idem continue; et pari evidencia qua

V. g. a man
may very
rightly refrain
from touching
money: but it
is mon-strous to
touch a
torbid a
Religious ever
to touch money
under any
circumstances.

Church
endowments,
the institution
of monks and
that of Friars
proceed from
the same false
principle:
tradition is
perfect and
must be
perpetually
observed.

We ought to
change
according to
circumstances,
adopting now
one way of
living and now
another: where-
as they lay
down hard and
fast lines,

which often
lead to
ridiculous
puerility: some
friars, for
instance,
cannot touch a
coin without
apostasy, unless
with a rag or a
glove, or the
coin be
punched or
broken.

Objection:
What is
lawfully done
for some time
may be lawfully
done for ever.

1. sed *pro* sicut C. 2. tangat monetam BC. 9. *telpar* A. 14. ge-
neraliter *deest* AB. 15. iste *deest* C. 17. p ppe^o A. 22. variare C.
24. variare A. 29. frivola C. 30. Que BC. 32. parvipedunt A; *ib.*
pano A. 33. *chiroteca* AB; *cyroteca* C. 34. *fracta pro* perfracta AB.
34, 35. inordinata affectione A 37. omnia *pro* instantia A.

uni persone, et toti secte; et per consequens licet quantumcunque firmiter tali licito perpetuo obligari. Patet ex dictis quod nec Cristus potuit ultra libertatem quam deus instituit ad ritus huiusmodi obligare; ut consilium Cristi est quod sui apostoli *nichil ferant in 5* *via, neque peram, neque baculum, neque duas tunicas habeant*: quod subintelligendum est, de quanto retardat ab officio predicandi. Sed quod ista simpliciter observentur sub pena damnandi peccati; scilicet, si contraveniunt, tunc sic peccant: hoc tolleretur libertatem eter- 10 nam, et per consequens dominus hoc non potest. Et istud est venenum quo quilibet privata religio est infecta. Observent igitur privata consilia, si et quatenus expediunt, quamdiu voluerint, sed caveant a nimietate obligacionis et omissione libertatis quam deus instituit. 15 ne blasfement.

Christ himself could not encroach upon man's freedom.

His particular directions to the Apostles are all to be understood in so far as they are of use.

Let Friars keep their observances as long as they choose, and without constraint.

It is allowed in certain cases to marry or to slay; but it does not follow that a Friar should take a vow to do either.

And to found an order with rules to be provisionally observed would be of no use, since all Christians would be equally bound by them.

Besides, human presumption would always tend to render them absolute.

And to bind any one in this manner cannot be lawful, since it takes away Christian liberty:

Et patet quod non plus sequitur: *hoc potest bene fieri*: igitur, *sic obligari ad hoc est licitum*, quam sequitur: *Quilibet frater de secta data potest meritorie uxoriari et confratrem suum occidere*: igitur, *ad hoc obligari 20* *2^m rationem vel religionis vel ordinis est licitum*. Religio enim debet fundari simpliciter in [opere] virtuoso. Et similiter fundare religionem in talibus consiliis, 'si et quatenus sunt racionaliter observanda', foret superfluum, gravans et illibertans ecclesiam, et ex processu in infinitum 25 diminuens ordinem cristianum. Quilibet enim cristianus habens facultatem ad observandum tale consilium sive neutrum, debet ipsum, si et quatenus expedit, observare. Unde privati ordines, de quanto sunt liciti, sunt fundati super consiliis ewangelicis et ritibus neutris, 30 cum moderamine, illa 'de quanto expedit' observandi. Sed quia humana presumpcio nititur perpetuare ista et equiparare religioni Cristi vel mandatis domini: ideo ex instinctu regis superbie, quo vult constanter hec obser- 35 vari et plus et diucius quam bonificarent circumstantie, est venenum. Nec videtur quod obligacio ad hos ritus K. sit licita, cum vel tollit vel diminuit | libertatem quam 85^a Cristus ad utilitatem ecclesie ordinavit. Per hoc enim tardantur observari Cristi mandata sive consilia, cum

3. nec *deest* AB. 4. obligari C. 7. habeatis B. 9. dandi omnes MSS. 12. verum A. 21. *rom* I r'hoib A; *ib.* vel *before* religionis *deest* C. 22. ditundari A; *ib.* similiter *deest* A; *ib.* opere *deest* omnes MSS. 22, 23. simpliciter et fundare C. 33. domini *deest* A. 36. credantur B; *ib.* observare C.

sint tantum observancie finite, et plus observant illud,
 quod minus expedit observare. Ideo necesse est ob-
 servancias plus utiles diminui sive tolli. Et eadem est
 consideracio de observanciis privatis, quas leges papales
 5 constituunt. Cum enim obligantur ad observandum liber-
 tatem primevam quam a Cristo receperant, et iterum
 obligantur novelli ad eius oppositum, videtur quod
 sunt ad contradictoria diabolice obligati, et ita toto
 10 facto laboraret quilibet fidelis quod ecclesia ponatur
 in statu primevi quem Cristus instituit, subductis no-
 vellis legibus, eciam papalibus, et novis ordinacionibus
 introductis. Tunc enim non foret tanta obligacio ad
 ritus. Sed cum ille sunt consuetudines operandi, se-
 quentes per accidens ad virtutes, sequentibus illis in
 15 parvipensione graduum, non fiat illis obligacio talis
 perpetua, sicut est in dictis privatis ordinibus, sed fiat
 per se obligacio ad virtutes et opera virtuosa. Et sic
 1 Cor. intelligo apostolum 1^a cor. 6^o: *Imitatores mei estote.*
 XI, 1 *sicut et ego Christi.* Noluit enim apostolus quod secta
 20 sequeretur eum in modo vivendi obligacione sectali,
 nisi per se fuerit virtuosus, sicut creditur quadam pro-
 prietate esse de quolibet modo vivendi Christi. Unde
 difficultas est, utrum patriarche novorum ordinum ad
 illos ordines obligantur. Et tenent quidem quod illi
 25 sunt in illis generibus equivoce, et non univoce cum
 sectis sequentibus, sicut fuit de Moyse quo ad legale
 sacerdocium et de Cristo quo ad ordinem cristianum.
 Nec est vis quo ad patriarchas istorum ordinum, cum
 non sint per se ex hoc laudandi.
 30 Sed 2^o obicitur contra obligacionem temporalium, in
 qua materia scribe et pharisei magis insaniunt, tum,
 quia ab ipsis dependet tam voluntas, quam ars lucrativa
 eorum. Et movet ratio duplex: Prima, quia ordinacionem
 tot et talium sanctorum tam diutinam non licet infrin-
 35 gere; 2^o, quia per idem quodcunque quod secularis
 occupat iniuste occupat liceret abstrahere; ex quibus
 L. nimis perturbaretur utrumque brachium ecclesie. Hic
 dicitur quod tam necessaria est illa sententia, quod im-
 possibile est pacificare regna vel clerum complete sol-

which is also
 true of Papal
 laws; the
 faithful should
 therefore resist
 them.

When St. Paul
 counselled the
 Christians to
 imitate him,
 he did not
 mean his mode
 of life, Christ
 alone should be
 thus imitated.
 As for the
 Founders of
 the Sects, it is
 a question
 whether they
 properly belong
 to them: as
 Founders, they
 are not to be
 approved.

II. I am
 attacked with
 special fury on
 the doctrine of
 temporalities.
 My position is
 contrary to what
 many and great
 Saints have
 approved; and
 it would go to
 prove that all
 secular
 possessions are
 also unjust and
 may be taken
 away.

1. observacione A. 2. observari AB. 7. quod in B. 8. "ordo"
 (sic) AC. 9. eciam pro ecclesia AC. 11. ordinibus BC. 14. ad
 deest B. 21. credi A. 25. exclusive omnes MSS. 27. qui B.
 30. oblaco3 C. 32. voluptas C. 36. occupat before iniuste deest AB.
 38. est deest A.

Yet it is necessarily true, and the only means of restoring peace to Christendom. We should prefer to believe Christ and his Apostles than any number of saints.

Let my opponents do the works that those Saints did, or prove that they were right in accepting endowments. As for the other argument, civil lordship and possession by almsdeed are two different things.

If the clergy abuses the gifts granted to it, there being but a limited supply of wealth, that abuse must be felt throughout the world: and it is the king's duty to remedy it, according to the parable of the steward, of which my interpretation is right: the burden of temporalities being a true debt we owe to God.

Thus the clergy possessing more wealth, ought to return more

vere sua debita, nisi illa sententia fuerit per principes practisata. Et quantum ad primum obiectum, credendum est plus Cristo cum suis apostolis, quam infinitis sanctis vel dictis quorumcunque, eciam canonisatorum, approbancium dotacionem cleri. Verumtamen illi primo 5 receperant nudo titulo elemosine tanquam custodes bona pauperum, et vel depauperati ab arte predicandi, vel inclinati ad seculum, anxie laborarunt circa dictorum bonorum custodiam. Sed post ex cautela diaboli surrepsit presumptum cleri dominium eciam ultra dominos seculares. 10

Et sic, quo ad primum dicitur arguenti, vel quod faciat illis sanctis similiter, vel doceat quod non in hoc venialiter peccaverunt. Quo ad 2^m, sepe dictum est diversitatem esse inter occupacionem civilem et elemosinariam; et sic differt dicta bona iniusti civilis ab ipso 15 rapere, et bona pauperum que darentur titulo elemosine, caritative exigere vel tenere. Et cum deus dat toto generi humano de temporalibus in mensura, nec amplius propter cleri cupidinem, inanifeste patet quod preponderatis temporalibus et clero adeo abutente, necesse 20 est quod in seculo fiat dissensio; et cum regis sit pacificare pauperes, a spoliacione iniusta defendere, et viciantes suam regaliā destruere, patet quod illorum est sententiam istam practisando defendere; quod docetur Luc. 16^o in parabola salvatoris qua deus laudavit Luc. villicum iniquitatis ex hoc quod deonerando clerum de XVI, 8 redditu 50^a cadorum olei habuit exinde amicos in purgatorio. Nec valet dicere quod sensus istius parabole est fictus contra sententiam Bede, cum vivax ratio docet quod clerus sic dotatus debet esse exinde deo 30 et ecclesie amplius obligatus; quia secundum beatum Gregorium in omelia comuni, dum augentur dona, rationes eciam crescunt donorum. Et insane foret quod clerus iuste possidet ista dominia, nisi deus donaverit. Exinde temporales domini, expectando retribucionem specialem, 35 haberent diligenciores ministros eo amplius obligatos. M.

Quo supposito, arguo quod clerus ex cautela diaboli sit irrationabiliter obligatus; quia tenetur exinde continue plus spiritualis redditus solvere domino celorum

1. tactis C. 6. custos A. 7. depaupertati B; *ib.* predicati A. 12. fuciat *dest* B; *ib.* sanctis *deest* C. 16. recipere A. 18. temporalibus B. 26. devorando A. 29. fucus A. 31. Et B. 35. spalem A; spiritualem BC. 38. sic A; *ib.* quod C; *ib.* hinc B; exhinc C. 39. spual A.

25. See above, p. 231.

Et ex hinc factus indisposicior minus solvit; igitur continue currens in debito iniuriatur domino dampnificans matrem ecclesiam. Minor probatur ex hoc quod Christus iuxta fidem plus appreciatur apostolorum pauperiem. 5 quam diaconorum sollicitudinem; plus profecit Stephanus 85^b fidem Cristi predicando, | quam mensis ministrando; et generaliter indiscreta fuisset Cristi dispensacio qua ordinavit apostolos, relictis temporalibus, in pauperie spiritualiter ministrare ecclesie, nisi hoc foret utrinque plus 10 utile et, plus cedens deo ad honorem, plus sibi delectabile. Nec moveat quod apostoli ministraverunt populo de multiplicato cibario per Cristi miraculum, ut dicitur Marc. 6^o et 8 et Matth. 14, et hoc ex Cristi mandato: VI, 41 ubi peccarent graviter, nisi, dimissa contemplacione, VIII, 6 complerent mandatum domini; quia iuxta istam argu- Matth. ciam, cum apostoli meruerunt diformiter aliter quam XIV, 19 Christus, sequeretur quod eque meritorium atque laudabile opus foret purgare ventrem, vel opus tale facere ad quod natura necessitat, sicut predicare vel quem- 20 cunque actum apostolicum aut contemplacionem perficere; cum deus in casu precipit hec fieri et alia dimitti. Et si dicatur, secundum begardorum sentenciam, quod contemplacio stat cum deposicione ponderis nature, sicut cum sompno et esu, cum aliis actibus 25 bestialibus ad quos natura necessitat, quare non cum ministerio mensarum et quacunque provisione bonorum pauperum? Cristus tamen omnisciens decrevit quod propter diminucionem actus apostolici per tales possessiones et ministraciones, apostoli illas relinquerent. 30 Cum igitur clerus ex potestate ordinis obligatur ad tantum ministerium cum sanctis apostolis propter paritatem muneris, et non reddit deo de facto tantum ministerii laudabilis, videtur quod indebitatur sibi culpabiliter ex subtraccione tam preciosi redditus. Nec valet 35 fingere quod nostra distribucio bonorum fortune equivalet operacioni apostolice, vel quod propter multitudinem cleri iam necesse est illi intendere, quod non oportuit tempore conversacionis apostolice. Cristus enim scivit aptare suam regulam ad totam multitudinem cleri

spiritual fruit to God, and is thereby rendered less able to return it. Christ esteemed the poverty of his Apostles more than the service of the deacons.

At the miracle of the loaves, the Apostles, it is true, served the people, but it was by Christ's command. And it does not follow that this act was as meritorious as preaching, unless every act commanded by God through the voice of nature, be equally meritorious. The Begardi said that contemplation and disburdening the body were acts on the same level; it so why not the service of tables too?

Obliged by their state to Apostolic perfection, the clergy, not rendering to God what is due, becomes heavily indebted. And Christ's rule was good

7. indispensacio A; disspensacio C. 11. utrumque C. 14. et speculatione B. 21. hec deest AB; ib. illa C. 31. precosi C.

36. opōni A. 38, 39. Cristus — regulam in margine inferiore suppl. C.

23. *Stat cum*. This may also mean 'is not impeded by'; and the argument is as strong in one sense as the other.

for the whole
clergy, as is
proved by the
times when it
flourished; its
aim was no doubt
to diminish
their excessive
multi tude.
If Religious men
keep their rule,
how much
rather should
we keep Christ's
rule.

It is a sin for
any of the clergy
to pass
sleepless nights
out of care for
the future.

God will
provide for us
as He does for
all living;
and the same
reason
condemns the
cunning put
forth by the
Mendicants to
get money.
It is apostasy;
yet we say that
we care not,
and leave the
the morrow to
care for itself;
but our
affections prove
too well that it
is a lie.

Who would not
be downcast,
if his
possessions
were in any
way interferred
with?

III. I am said
heretically to
contradict the
decision of the

necessariam, sicut potuit per multos centenarios an-
norum, quando secta cleri plus profuit. Ideo creditur
quod ratio regule Cristi fuit nimis onerosam cleri multi-
tudinem refrenare. Si igitur privati ordines observant N.
bottas, difformitatem in sculptura et colore vestium, 5
cum voto ad penalitates corporales, quia est medicina
contra superbiam, gulam et cetera peccata, quanto
magis Cristi regula, que efficacius est peccatis contraria,
servaretur!

Et hinc creditur quod sive diaconi, sive quicunque 10
clerici pernoctant cum sollicitudine cure temporalium, ut
sic peccant, quia contra Cristi consilium (Matth. 6^o),
obligant se perdendo libertatem exuicionis a temporali-
bus ad superfluam sollicitudinem terrenorum. Deus enim
provideret clero suo de temporalibus, sicut providet 15
bestiis et cunctis viventibus de cremento nature. Et
patet quomodo possessio cleri onerat ipsum, quia in-
debitat et indisponit ad retribuendum. Et eadem ratio
procedit contra calliditates cuiuscunque ordinis mendi-
cantis, cum privata obligacio tantum vel plus obligat, 20
distrahit et retardat, sicut illa que Cristus prohibet
consulendo. Et patet quod quante ab ewangelio Cristi
excidimus, vel addendo vel diminuendo, tante aposto-
tando peccamus; dicimus tamen quod sine nocturna
sollicitudine vel cogitacione scimus habere quotlibet 25
temporalia, sicut bona nature in manu domini, et
veniente crastino ad moderatum ministerium expergelieri,
pro crastino sollicitari. Sed alia opera nostra convincunt
mendacium, cum cogitacio et affeccio ad habendum
superflue ista bona vel in actu vel in habitu patescunt 30
ex vita nostra. Quis, inquam, non tristaretur in crastino
de istorum honorum ablacione, de usus eorum contra-
diccione, ymo de possessionis proprietarie negacione?
Sic enim possent omnia dicta in privatis ordinibus sive
papalibus observari, dicendo quod faciunt illud mini- 35
sterium deo quod tradicio humana limitat, vel sibi
equivalens. Sed certum est quod iuxta hoc quelibet
privata observancia quo ad regularitatem consequencie
deliceret, et sollicitudo adinvencionis regule superflueret.

Sed 3^o obiciunt illi qui ex predictis insaniunt, quod 40
contradico tanquam hereticus determinacioni ecclesie de

3. onerosa AC. 5. botas C. 8. est *deest* B. 11. clerici *deest* A.
10. calliditatem A. 23. vel *before* addendo *deest* C. 33. negative B.
36. secundum *pro deo* B.

sacramentis. Sed hoc faciunt indirecte, ut infirmant priora que odiunt. De sacramento autem eukaristie et penitentie dicunt quod contradico determinacioni ecclesie, ymo blasfemo in Christum, quod ipse oneraret ecclesiam cum celebracione sacramentorum talium sine causa. Hic dico, ut sepe alias, quod docto quod sit contraria fidei quecunque sententia quam assero, volo paratissime revocare. Et cum habeam evidencias ex fide quod ista sit sententia salvatoris, licet michi interim in fide tali quiescere. Et cum vocata ecclesia sit in secretis materiis fidei tam imprudens, difficile videtur fidelibus quod stent sententie eorum in ista materia, quidquid decreverunt. Ideo videtur securum in expressis in lege dei quiescere, et novitates ac difficultates adiectas dimittere. Nam illa antiqua sufficiunt ad salutem; et novitates adiecte sunt multis ambigue atque superflue. Ideo orant deum superbas blasfemias satraparum destruere.

O. Quantum ad sacramentum, altaris dictum est diffuse alibi, quomodo novelli ordines ydiotice et infundabiliter contradicunt; ut unus, quod sacramentum altaris sit agregacio accidencium sine subiecta substantia; et alius quod ipsum sit naturaliter et substancialiter corpus Christi, negando quod aliquod est sacramentum sensibile in altari. Sed signa que videmus et sanctificamus, sunt solum sacramentalia; et sic utrobique illuditur ecclesia. Nam doctores tam antiqui quam novi de sectis que sic garriunt, decretales, decreta et usus ecclesie contradicunt. Ponunt enim unum album et rotundum, quod ante consecracionem fuit panis, vel in pane, post eius consecracionem remanere, et illud dixerunt regulariter esse sacramentum. Et vulgus vere credit ipsum esse quoddammodo corpus Christi. De illo autem, circa quod est tantus error, est nobis et aliis scolasticis difficultas. Scimus quidem quod corpus Christi, eciam secundum esse naturale quod habet in celo, est sacramentum, et ipsum corpus virtute verborum Christi est dictus panis, et eciam sacramentum; habet eciam modum spirituales essendi ad omnem punctum dicti panis, et, ut sic, est sacramentum, et sic idem corpus sacramentat se ipsum secundum disparem modum essendi, ut sacramentum altaris sacramentat corpus Christi et sanguinem, ut est

Church concerning the Sacrament; but this accusation is made on account of the two former points.

I am ready to recant at once, if shown my error; but at present I rest convinced that my doctrine is that of Christ; and the Church here below can hardly give an irrevocable decision. It is best to use the terms used in God's law, and avoid novelties.

I have already been said how the Sects contradict each other about the Sacrament: some saying it is a lot of accidents without a substance, and others, that it is Christ's natural Body: which is contrary to their own doctors, the Decretal and Church customs. And the people really believes that this white round somewhat that was bread or belonging thereto, is now Christ's Body. Here lies the difficulty: We know that Christ's natural Body is a Sacrament, and that Christ's Body is bread, having a spiritual mode of being

3. determinacioni *deest* C. 6. Protestacio *in marg.* A 7. assero A
11. misteriis C. 21. subiecta *deest* C. 28. illud *pro* album C
31. vulgus C. 38. et eciam BC.

everywhere in
the bread,
and the
separate
consecration of
the elements is
the figure of our
Lord's death.
But what is the
Sacrament in
its *own* nature?
I say it is the
same bread as
it was before
the miracle
makes it to be
Christ's Body
not
substantially
but
supernaturally;
for Christ's
Body is not
changed as the
bread changes,
though some
say that it
changes
symbolically.
As for the
Sacrament of
Penance, I
merely deny its
absolute, not its
relative
necessity; and I
think that the
decree of
Innocent III was
not a wise
development of
Gospel truth.
If these works
against Simony,
apostasy and
Blasphemy
(which all who
love God should
hate) contain
any errors, I ask
God's
forgiveness, and
submit to
whomsoever He
may choose to
correct me.

in celo, et disparitas confeccionum carnis et sanguinis sacramentat mortem corporis Cristi. Ac si diceret: effuso sanguine in separato loco a carne, corpus Cristi pro nobis est mortuum et exsangue. Difficultas autem, quam solvere non audent sentencie predicte, stat in 5 quiditate predicti sacramenti in se, quid sit in sua natura. Et sepe dixi quod sit in sui natura panis idem qui prefuit, et in miraculo verborum Cristi, corpus suum; non substancialiter sed supernaturaliter. Nec videtur quod putrescit aut frangitur, licet panis ille, qui 10 est corpus Cristi taliter moveatur, sicut deitas non denominatur accidentibus quibus Cristus formatur, licet ipse sit illa deitas. Et sic, virtute unionis que est circa incarnationem, panis ille multipliciter variatur, et corpus Cristi non taliter; licet quidam dicant quod taliter 15 mutatur in symbolis. Eukaristia autem vocatur corpus Cristi concrecius quam est in suis symbolis.

Quantum ad secundum sacramentum penitencie, dictum est quod expedit et est necessarium, sed non absolute, taliter confiteri. Nec videtur michi quod lex Inno- 20 cencii 3ⁱⁱ, artans ad istam confessionem, fuit prudenter explicata, nec aliqua lex papalis vel alia post ewangelium explicata, nisi in ipso finaliter sit fundata. Et tenta ista sententia rediret ecclesia ad perfectionem status pri- 25 mevi, que hodie in multis varietatibus est dispersa.

Istam dixerim secundum donacionem et mocionem dei contra istas 3^s hereses: Symoniam, Apostasiam atque Blasfemiam, quibus deo iniuriatur per sacerdotes diversos: contra quos qui non invehit neque dolet, non diligit meritorie deum suum. Si autem in istis erra- 30 vero, peto humiliter a deo veniam, et submitto me correc- cioni et informacioni cuiuscunque creature, quam sibi placuerit ad hoc ministerium limitare. Amen.

Explicit hoc opusculum circa penthecostes sub anno domini 1432^o wstrach etc. 35

4. ex sanguine A; et exangue C; *ib.* autem *deest* B. 5. salutare *pro* salutare *omnes* MSS; *ib.* *inve corr.* in *marg.* secte C. 8. et *deest* A. 12. prudencia C. 22. explicita BC. 24. redder C. 26. donacionem *deest* A. 33. After Amen Explicit tractatus de blasfemia, in large letters in black ink B; Explicit tractatus de Blasfemia secundum Johannem Wy. XII9 in red ink C; limitare. Utyess Iye buoh = God comfort thee D.

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¹ See Introduction, ch. II.

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